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AUTHOR Grant, D. R. B.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This monograph describes the developmental context of disadvantaged children in the English-speaking Caribbean. Reported in nontechnical language are the frequencies of responses on a parent interview schedule made by a sample of heads of households with children 0 to 3 years of age. Section 1, part 1 presents information on type of family union, the age at which the mother gave birth, her visit(s) to the clinic, and her approach to breast-feeding and toileting. Section 1, part 2 focuses on child-oriented parental attitudes and beliefs, parent-child attachment, provisions for the development of the child's visual-motor perceptual skills, and initiations into household chores. Section 1, part 3 discusses data concerning the educational level of parents, their occupation and income, and their reading habits. Section 2, part 1 examines data on aspects of the human setting such as family size and number of people helping in child care and childrearing. Section 2, part 2 describes the social process setting as a factor in the development of the child. Section 2, part 3 describes the physical setting in which the child interacts with people and things. Appended are a researcher's personal narrative reflecting emotional responses to the conditions of these poverty-stricken people and an account of an intervention to improve the nutrition of children of participating families. (RH)

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LIFE STYLE STUDY

CHILDREN OF THE LESSER WORLD IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

Volume V: Household Structures and Settings

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D.R.B. Grant
Elsa Leo-Rhynie **George Alexander**

1983

The Bernard Van Leer Foundation, Centre for Early Childhood Education
Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica W.I.

LIFE STYLE STUDY:

CHILDREN OF THE LESSER WORLD

IN

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

VOLUME V

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

AND

SETTINGS

D.R.B. GRANT
ELSA LEO-RHYNIE
GEORGE ALEXANDER

1983

The Bernard Van Leer Foundation Centre for Early Childhood Education (CECE)
Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica W.I.

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PREFACE

Over many centuries educators, psychologists, sociologists, nutritionists, and medical practitioners have consistently and passionately emphasised the importance of the education and care of the young child. During the last three decades 'attention-capturing books' and articles that focus on the appalling conditions of the poor child have forced tne private and public sectors of developed and developing countries to show concern for the 'children of poverty'. The 1965 "War on poverty" in the United States, created a renaissance of interest in the young child, especially the underprivileged. This insular flame soon became a universal conflagration that touched the conscience of policy-makers in every part of the world, and provided an atmosphere for the writing and publication of a genre of books on the quality of life of young children of the poor.

This white-heat interest in and concern for these children were stimulated by factors and events other than the "Anti-poverty Acts" in the United States. With the upsurge of nationalism throughout the Caribbean region, beginning in 1938, more and more policy-makers emerged from the "masses", therefore, more and more social service programmes/legislations were introduced for the benefit of people in the no/low-income brackets. From 1962 onward, the Parliaments in the region began to attract politicians from the middle/lower/upper income bracket families who in order to avoid and prevent a social explosion, have had to make deliberate efforts to improve the quality of life of the 'have-nots' in the society. Everyone is now convinced that the start must be made during the child's early life; consequently, deliberately planned intervention, compensatory and developmental programmes are developed and being developed to help underprivileged children become more effective in their transactions and interactions with people,

places and things. Various contemporary projects, experimenting with different facets of early childhood education, provide favourable results of early learning. The Bernard Van Leer Foundation network of Projects continue to provide evidence accumulated from projects scattered in different socio-economic areas of the world, to substantiate the conviction that every young child has great educational promise if there is success in developing programmes sensitive enough, and powerful enough to reduce the gap in 'potential for improvement," cognitively, affectively and in selfhood.

It seems indisputable from the literature surveyed by Grant[+], that the child's first learning environment is the home. Infact, the Bernard Van Leer Foundation is one of the first funding agencies to lay stress on the interaction of home/community and children's developmental services, in programming assistance for early childhood education projects. It is recognised that in this environment the child acquires a diversity of knowledge, skills and attitudes. It is also recognised that the quality and meaning of life, as well as the conditions for wholesome growth and development of the child are significantly related to the child's potential for living and learning.

Inasmuch as the governments of the region are committed to the development of programmes for young children, the private sector, including voluntary organisations, is still the major source of support for services for the underprivileged. In order to maintain this support at a consistently high pitch it is becoming increasingly imperative for

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[+] Grant, D.R.B. ....The Literature in Retrospect: Volume I. The Bernard Van Leer Foundation Centre for Early Childhood Education, Mona, Kingston 7, 1981.

the proponents of early childhood education to provide answers to the WHY behind what is done for, with, and by these children. The teaching profession, therefore, has a responsibility to use the knowledge and understanding of the children they teach and care to plan programmes for the optimum development of their potential.

In Volume II of the Life Style Monographs, Grant points out the significance of the person-environment interaction and shows how specific characteristics of the environment have the potential for influencing the psychological and socio-economic adaptation of individuals. He concludes:

> "In addition to the natural features of the places influencing the life-style and work habits of its people, the economic value and utilisation of the natural resources -- land, minerals, people -- of the country will determine the quality of the life-style of its inhabitants and their off-spring(s)."+

The implication of this conclusion seems to be that the child -- rich or poor -- is part of a number of social systems -- biological, social, physical -- which in interaction have an impact on his/her growth. MacDonald* refers to these systems as a "new understanding that as a society

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+ Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study: Children of the Lesser World in the English-Speaking Caribbean. Volume II: Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas, The Bernard Van Leer Foundation Centre for Early Childhood Education, Mona, Kingston 7. 1981.

* MacDonald, James B. "A Proper Curriculum for Young Children", in Anderson and Shane (eds) As the Twig is Bent. Boston; Houghton Mifflin Company. 1971.

we should deliberately intervene as early and as often and for as long a time as possible, to provide the optimum man-made environment for our children." This 'man-made environment', he contends, (i) should 'encourage the appearance of certain behaviour in terms of interpersonal relationships, facilities and resources', (ii) should be 'filled with customary ways or rules of behaviour' particularly in regard to speech; and (iii) should help develop 'perceptions of how significant other people see us, and what it means to be human.'

Although there is much evidence on the effect of the life style of parents on the cognitive and emotional development of the child, there is need for more study to determine the personality that the child is likely to develop as a result of such factors as age of parents at the time of the child's birth, the number of brothers and sisters, and the position of the child in the sequence of siblings. It appears, however, that parental acceptance of the child, firm and clear regulations in the home, parental respect for and appreciation of the 'functioning self'-- all contribute to positive self-esteem in children. The intellectual environment that the family provides is also important. The child needs opportunity to explore his+ world, to learn through the manipulation of materials and to develop coordination through play. If the child must be the centre of an educational environment that is conducive to growth, then any study on the present day life style in the home must come face to face with the role of the television and radio on the development of the child's personality. It is admitted that television posseses a potential for enrichment and widening of experience, as well as for great harm. Therefore, the most demanding challenge facing teachers and

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+ The pronoun "his" throughout the text includes the feminine gender.

parents is that of capitalising on the potential for good, and minimising/eliminating the harmful possibilities of the media.

The parent's concern for the child's physical well-being is also important. The undernourished, or sickly child will lack the energy necessary for him to achieve success through hard work. The result is failure, disappointment and discouragement which may contribute to the development of emotional and/or learning problems. More evidence is needed to help educators fully understand the impact which poverty and other environmental factors have on the development of the Caribbean child, but it seems clear that efforts to optimise growth and development must begin at an early age for the child, and must include his parents, especially the mother.

Virtually all of the relevant studies indicate that the parent plays the major role in shaping the "new understanding" described by Macdonald. There is a growing trend in some early childhood education projects to deliberately involve parents in the education of their children, with a view to developing a functional interactivity between home and school. For this parental involvement/participation to be effectively done to the mutual benefit of home and school, parent education must be an integral part of every early childhood education programme -- an education in which parents are trained to give their children early stimulation, to communicate with them, and to relate to them as human-beings in need of patient parental guidance and understanding. It is this type of interaction and experiential exchanges in the home between parent and child that will contribute to the child's 'perception of how significant he is to other people'.

Dorothy Nolté avows:

"If a child lives with criticism
He learns to condemn.
If a child lives with hostility
He learns to fight.

If a child lives with ridicule,
He learns to be shy.
If a child lives with shame,
He learns to feel guilty.

If a child lives with tolerance,
He learns to be patient.
If a child lives with encouragement,
He learns confidence.

If a child lives with praise,
He learns to appreciate.
If a child lives with fairness,
He learns justice.

If a child lives with security,
He learns faith.
If a child lives with approva.
He learns to like himself.

If a child lives with acceptance and friendship,
He learns to find love in the world."

Research is the means by which the WHY of processes and products are answered, and theories formulated and tested. It is for these reasons that this Life Style Study sets out to discover specific environmental variables that may have an impact on the development capacities of the children involved. On the basis of the theoretical considerations presented in the paragraphs above, there is an obvious need for investigating the socio-economic variables -- subtle and obvious -- that underlie the failure of poor children to take advantage of the educational services offered by the governments of the region.

Specifically, the study is designed to 'provide information on the context in which the child develops rather than on the child's development'[+], The general methods, procedures and scope of the Study have been lucidly described by Alexander[+].

For various reasons it was not possible to include all the English-Speaking Caribbean islands in the Study, therefore, the "Target Areas" were limited to two islands from each of the Windward and the Leeward groups of islands with Barbados and Jamaica representing the larger islands and the More Developed Countries (MDC). These islands represent nearly 50% of the English-Speaking Caribbean islands, with a predominantly black population, and the underprivileged families having a common socio-economic denominator with very little difference, if any, in the numerator. Alexander[•] gives the distribution of the samples for the Target Areas as follows:

Antigua	Barbados	Jam.	St. K.	St. L.	St. V.	Total
80	200	885	100	128	130	1523

Because the governments in the region demonstrate keen interest in, great concern for and commitment to the care and services for the poor pre-school child, it was decided to limit the sample to heads of household with children 0-3 years old. Two other reasons account for the

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[+] Alexander, George A. Life Style Study. Children of the Lesser World in the English-Speaking Caribbean: Volume III: Dynamics of the Study. Bernard Van Leer Foundation Centre for Early Childhood Education, Mona, Kingston 7. 1981.

[•] Alexander, George A. Op.cit pp 46-48; 55.

concentration on this age range: (i) the interest of the Bernard Van Leer Foundation in programmes for the development of the 'innate potential' of deprived child in the early childhood age cohorts, and (ii) the stir caused by the International Year of the Child (IYC) in the region.

Alexander[+], in addition to describing the sampling procedures, acknowledges that "once contact was made with the householders, the vast majority of them were extremely cooperative to the point where people responded too much, and even some of those who were under stress would open up after a while."

This Monograph titled, Volume V: Household Structures and Settings, is a description of the context in which "Children of the Lesser World in the English-speaking Caribbean" develop. It reports in non-technical language, the frequency occurrence of the data generated from responses to the Parent Interview Schedule (PAINTS). It is hoped that this report will give information on certain variables dealing with child rearing-practices and on the socio-economic correlates of these practices. The writers do not pretend to have distilled all the information represented by the data. Instead, they have attempted to present information that will stimulate students of child development to pursue further study of the data. It is with this in mind that Elsa Leo-Rhynie[•] has written a Monograph indicating possible areas of exploration for establishing relationships between certain variables in the data generated by the study.

[+]Alexander, George. op.cit p.p 46-48; 55.

[•]Leo-Rhynie, Elsa. Life Style Study. Children of the Lesser World in the English-Speaking Caribbean, Volume IV: The Data: Pointers to Relationships. Bernard Van Leer Foundation Centre for Early Childhood Education, Mona, Kingston 7. 1982.

Throughout the Monograph no attempt is made to interpret the data in terms of the development of the 0-3 year-olds in the Target Areas. The Structures and Settings which influence the status and process of the quality of life, learning, and development of the children are kept in focus. The data on each variable, or on a group of variables are elaborated upon and where appropriate Tables are used to show frequency occurrence of significant variables of the data in the Target Areas.

The results of this study are presented under two Sections. The first, (Section I), and the second (Section II), focus information on the variables grouped under STRUCTURES[+] and SETTINGS[+], respectively. These groupings are for convenience as the context within which the child develops consists of a number of social systems in interaction.

The STRUCTURES which influence the living standards of the householder and children are reported under three parts.

PART I: presents information on type of family union, the age at which the mother gave birth to the child, her visit(s) to the clinic and her approach to breast feeding and toileting.

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Volume II: Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas. p.p 3-4.

PART II: focuses on child-oriented parental attitude and beliefs, parent-child attachment, opportunities and provisions for the development of the child's visual-motor perceptual skills and initiation into household chores.

PART III: discusses the data on the educational level of the parents, their occupation and income, and the reading habits of the adults, personally and/or with the child.

The section on SETTINGS is reported under three subheads:

SET: 1 examines the data on Human Setting to ascertain the size of families, the child's relatives living in the household, the number of people who help with caring and rearing the child, and the circumstances surrounding the absence of a parent (especially the mother) from the household.

SET: 2 describes the Social Process Setting as a factor in the development of the child. This description includes the child's interaction with his/her pears, the health profile, the type of discipline, punishment and reward practised in the household, and the extent to which parents/adults read to, play, and converse with the child.

SET: 3 introduces the Physical Setting in which the child interacts with people and things. In addition to providing a discription of the type of house, the sleeping arrangements, the appearance of the home, and the quality of the amenities (appliances) provided for the comfort of the family, there is information on the neighbourhood in which the child's household is located.

In organising the data for this Monograph many crucial decisions had to be made. Because of the large volume of materials generated by the study, and the limitations of resources, thought had to be given to making the report as brief and as readable as possible while at the same time giving such information as would enrich knowledge and deepen understanding of the conditions under which the children live. Another decision had to be made about the data on Jamaica. A total of nine parishes was included in the study, with more than one of the nine community types being represented in any single parish. To keep the report on Jamaica brief it was decided to select from the data two parishes which show significant contrasts in the type of neighbourhood. Using this criterion, it was found that in St. Ann 71.1% of the householders in the Target community there lived in what is termed "rural village", while in St. James 70.7% were located on what is designated "an appreciating residential area". Since the data show Jamaica as the only Target Area with contrasts of this nature and significance for each variable, it was decided to confine the treatment of the data for Jamaica to those generated for St. Ann and St. James only, leaving the data on the other parishes for future and further study, while at the same time making no community type distinction for the other islands.

In this report the writers concerned themselves with those antecedents of the development of the child whose parents live in economically and socially depressed areas. Although the writers are mindful of and interested in other influences on the development and the educability of the child, the focus on mothers is deliberate and in keeping with their role in the care and rearing of children in the region. In focusing on the significant variables of the social systems which have an impact on the development of the child, the writers hope that an examination of the patterns of experiences revealed by the data will help everyone concerned with the education and care of deprived children begin to understand the learning styles and information processing strategies that underprivileged children encounter in their environments. For these and other reasons the Monograph is intended to be thought provoking as it highlights the complexity of the life style of these children, and the variability of the Structures and Settings that influence their developmental patterns. It is my hope that everyone who reads this Monograph will experience the facination and delight that accompany the writers' deeper knowledge and greater understanding of the children of the Lesser World in the English-speaking Caribbean."

D.R.B. Grant

1983

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Space does not permit us to express our appreciation to all those people and institutions who/which have contributed to the development of the study, and to this report. Nevertheless, we mention the following to indicate the extent and the type of support which was unsparingly given to us.

In writing this Monograph we have drawn from the publications of many people, some of whose work is footnoted throughout the text, and all of whom are mentioned in the bibliography. We thank them all.

The mothers and householders who submitted themselves to the interview merit more recognition than is possible to express in words here. We acknowledge the contribution of their responses to our better understanding of their children.

Thanks is given to the Permanent Secretaries in the Ministries of Education and of Youth and Community Development who gave ungrudging support to the Study.

Compilation of the list of 0 to 3 year olds in each of the Target Areas was made possible through the cooperation of the staff of clinics, the principals of some primary and infant schools, and the district midwives. To them we are grateful.

Special appreciation of the dedication and thoroughness with which the interviewers did their work is here recorded. Their contribution was critical to the quality and credibility of the study.

We are grateful to Karlene Alexander and Audrey Duquesnay for coding, tabulating, key punching and preparing the print-out of the data generated by the responses to the Interview Schedule.

Particular acknowledgement is made of the Bernard Van Leer Foundation, its Executive Director, Willem H. Welling, and its senior members of staff for their demonstrated interest in wanting to help Caribbean educators know more about the quality of life of the underprivileged in the region. Funding of this Study by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation is an outgrowth of the Second Caribbean Seminar[+] on early childhood education sponsored by the Foundation. It is also a contribution to the International Year of the Child in the English-speaking Caribbean.

The typist, Grace Chong, made a valuable contribution to the completion of this report by producing a beautifully finished product. The duplicating work was carefully done by Clive Walters.

Our families reached the brink of deprivation during the time that we spent studying the large volume of data, and discussing their interpretation. We thank them for their patience and encouragement, and we hope the results of this Study will bring them the joy that will compensate for their sacrifice.

[+] Bernard Van Leer Foundation. Innovation in Early Childhood Education: Report of the Second Caribbean Seminar, Koninginnegracht 52, The Hague. 1974.

Many close friends inspired us in spirit, with their kind words and by the faith they expressed in the worthwhileness of the Study. We thank them.

D.R.B. Grant
Elsa Leo-Rhynie
George Alexander

1983

SECTION I

STRUCTURES

This Section provides a framework of certain social systems which are likely to contribute to the socialisation and educative processes of the young child. It is hoped that a knowledge and an understanding of these social systems will help in the development of guidelines for programmes that will maximise the educational and social development of "children of the poor", In fact, over the last two decades, students of child development, in providing the symbolic and other experiences that are necessary for academic achievement have come to recognise the importance of the factors included in this Section.

Sociologists and anthropologists contend, and educators agree, that "socialisation of the young child begins with the intimate life of the family, where its special patterns of behaviour impress their subtle messages on him in his early and formative years."[+] The concensus seems to be that most of the social patterns which the child perceives are part of the family's heritage, and that the behaviour patterns and the social status of the householders help to shape the child's attitudes toward people, places and things. The discussion in this Section will centre upon the STRUCTURES which influence the living standards of the low-no-income householders and their children.

[+] Trager, H.S. and M.R. Yarrow. They Learn What They Live. New York: Harper and Row, 1952.

PART I: Types of family Union Attitudes toward some Child-rearing Practices

(i) Type of Family Union:

Although it is accepted that the family group is a primary system for the experiential development of children the definition of family is dependent upon the cultural context in which it is used. Basically, the family consists of a group of adults and children who live together under "one roof" "until death us do part." But within this theoretical premise, Grant[+] has drawn attention to the variety of household groupings in the West Indies -- (a) a father, mother and their children, (b) the mother and her children with a step-father, (c) the mother-child household in which the male figure lives elsewhere, (d) a group of relatives living in the same house, and (e) the extended family in which two or more generations and their families live "under the same roof".

Table I gives a summary of the marital status of the sample householders in the Target Areas.

[+]Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study -- Volume I: The Literature in Retrospect, 1980. pp 7-14.

TABLE I[+]

Householders' (Mothers') Marital Status

Status	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	B'dos	Jamaica	
						St. Ann	St. James
Married	18 / 23.7	8 / 8.3	23 / 17.7	27 / 21.5	69 / 36.4	68 / 35	23 / 19.8
Common-law	16 / 21	23 / 23.9	37 / 28.5	26 / 21.7	24 / 12.7	42 / 21.6	32 / 27.5
Unmarried	42 / 55.1	64 / 66.6	48 / 37.00	66 / 53.2	90 / 47.6	57 / 29.3	55 / 47.4
Div/Separated	-	-	1 / .8	2 / 1.6	1 / .5	1 / .5	- / -
Others/N.A.	-	1 / 1.0	11 / 8.4	3 / 2.4	5 / 2.7	26 / 13.4	6 / 5.6
Totals (A F)	76	96	130	124	189	194	116
Mother in Household	94.7%	91.7%	85%	87.1%	96.8%	85.6%	94.8%
Father in Household	35.5%	29.2%	45%	37.9%	49.2%	58%	50.9%

Although it is generally accepted that separation in the lower class is more prevalent than in the middle/upper classes, an observable feature of Table I is the very low rate of divorce and/or separation (under 1%) among the married couples in the study. This is perhaps due to (i) the smallness of the islands in which the people know one another from school days and in many instances their parents

[+] Most of the data will be recorded in the Tables under absolute frequencies and relative frequencies (%) as follows:

a.f / RF — 18 / 23.7%

belong to the same circle of friends; and/or (ii) the influence of the church, the majority of which are against divorce. In many instances the parents are either members of or frequent visitors to the same church, therefore the "moral" and monogamous nuclear family outlook of the children is influenced by the teachings of the church and/or the counselling of the pastor.

The marital customs of the Caribbean family are reflected in Table I. These patterns are natural consequences of the history of the slaves who were brought from Africa prior to the abolition of slavery. It must be noted that the christian-type of marriage was forbidden during slavery, therefore the role of a father was never clearly defined by custom. After emancipation, however, the freed slaves accepted marriage as the basis for family life, but the meaning of the marriage as a contract was based on the example of their former slave-owners who were known for their promiscuous living. These slave owners did not only associate love, passion and fun with "outside affairs", but also considered the baby resulting from such affairs as the responsibility of the mother.

Table I indicates the intactness of the householders in terms of the monogamous nuclear family pattern. An examination of the Table will show that in the Target Areas only between 29.2% and 58% of the fathers lived in the households. On the other hand, 85% to 96.8% of the mothers were full-time members of the family. It is interesting to note that twenty years ago Brathwaite[+] found that the lower class family was more "matri-central than that of the middle class, and that 33% of the children were

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[+] Brathwaite, L.E. Social Stratification in Trinidad. Social and Economic Studies. Vol. 2 # 2-3, October, 1953.

born to mothers in no stable union. Vickers[+], reporting his findings on a study in Jamaica, noted that 70% of the children were born out of wedlock and at least one-third of these children did not grow up in the same house with their father. This present study seems to suggest that, with the exceptions of St. Kitts, the presence of father in the household is swinging upward, numerically, although not to any significant extent.

Generally, temporary liaisons and common-law living among the Caribbean low-no-income family are practised without feelings of guilt. The information in Table I shows that the aggregate of the unmarried and common-law householders is about 66% of the total subjects interviewed. Looking at the Table as a whole it will be seen that there is support for Grant's[•] report that 81% of the births in St. Vincent are to unmarried women and/or common-law unions, and Greenfield's[¢] observation that in Barbados only about 25% of the women within the child-bearing age were married, while 24% were in common-law unions. The data on the frequency level of intact families, show that the percentage of such families was lowest in St. Kitts (8.3%) with a predominantly sugar-cane industry as its main source of income; it was highest in Barbados (36.4%) where the level of literacy was high and the economy was more diversified. It was also

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[+]Vickers, Jeane. A Model Day Care Centre. UNICEF News # 99: 1979.

[•]Grant, D.R.B. Volume II: Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas. 1981.

[¢]Greenfield, Sydney M. English Rustics in Black Skin: A Study of Modern Family Form in Pre-Industrialised Society. New Haven: Collage and University Press, 1966.

high in St. Ann (35%) (Jamaica) where the people, though poor, have middle class aspirations and are influenced by the interpersonal relationships of the families. In villages like the target area in St. Ann it is not uncommon for the unmarried/common-law couple to hold others in the family to the norms of stable family life while they themselves are engaged in a life pattern which violates these norms.

Because sociologists and anthropologists recognise the female-based family as a common denominator of family unions in the region the term "matrifocal family"[+] is used to emphasise the mother's stability as the householder and the transcendent character of the adult male. In this "Matrifocal family" the male assumes a number of roles -- husband/father in an intact family, a sporadic visitor with/without authority in the home, an "undelineated image shifting continuously and unpredictably." It is obvious that in such a situation it is possible for children of a mother to have different fathers who are accepted peripherally in the household structure.

(ii) Age of Mother at Birth of Child:

The present interest in parenthood, especially, the female teenage parent has evoked considerable concern over the size of the family, as well as for the findings of

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[+]Davis, W. Allison, and Robert J. Hsvighurst. Father of the Man. Boston: Haughton Mifflin, 1947.

Roberts[+] on the question of the child-bearing age in the West Indies. In fact, the Roberts' report provides a lively discussion topic for church groups, social welfare organisations, public sector study teams, and research projects.

Traditionally, there is a double standard for sexual behaviour in the Caribbean society - one for the male and one for the female. The male's pursuit of sexual favours during "courtship" is acceptable evidence of his masculinity, while, on the other hand, the female's acquiescence to such favours is generally labelled lack of "feminine integrity" leading to the conclusion that "she spoil herself." Custom seems to support the presumption of innocence on the part of the male until he is proven guilty of paternity, while maternity is obvious -- hence the high percentage of fatherless households in Table I.

It is true that Caribbean mothers bring up their daughters strictly, and impress upon them to "stay away from men." They must live up to the standard of what is referred to as the "cult of virginity". But the "why" is rarely ever answered sufficiently to enlighten the understanding of the girl. In fact, many young girls of child-bearing age are subject to threats from their mothers, and/or isolation from peer groups for fear of their being "spoilt by bad company". It seems that since the enaction of legislation for the protection of children throughout

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[+] Roberts, G.W. Fertility and Mating in Four West Indian Populations. Kingston: ISER, UWI, Jamaica, 1975.

the Caribbean there has been a more liberal and tolerant attitude concerning pregnancy in the region.

One of the most consistently emphasised concerns throughout the region has been the age of mothers at the birth of their child. Table II provides evidence that will support or repudiate this concern.

TABLE 11

Age of Mother at Birth of First (F) Target (Tar) Child+

AF / RF

Age in Years	Antigua		St. Kitts		St. Lucia		St. Vincent		B'dos		Jamaica			
											St. Ann		St. James	
	F	Tar	F	Tar	F	Tar	F	Tar	F	Tar	F	Tar	F	Tar
10							1 / .8							
11			1 / 1.0					2 / 1.6	2 / 1.1				1 / .9	
12			1 / 1.0		1 / .8		1 / .8							1 / .9
13			4 / 4.2		1 / .8		1 / .8				2 / 1.0			
14	1 / 1.3		4 / 4.2	1 / 1.0			4 / 3.2	1 / .8	1 / .5		1 / .5		4 / 3.4	1 / .9
15	6 / 7.9	1 / 1.3	8 / 8.3	6 / 6.3	10 / 8.3	1 / .8	12 / 9.7	2 / 1.6	5 / 2.6	2 / 1.1	5 / 2.6	1 / .5	13 / 11.2	6 / 5.2
16	10 / 13.2	5 / 6.5	13 / 13.5	4 / 4.2	11 / 9.3	4 / 3.3	20 / 16.1	2 / 1.6	12 / 6.3	5 / 2.6	14 / 7.2	2 / 1.0	11 / 9.5	3 / 2.6
17	6 / 7.9	4 / 5.3	22 / 22.9	5 / 5.2	13 / 10.8	9 / 7.6	16 / 12.9	7 / 5.6	13 / 6.9	14 / 7.4	26 / 13.4	3 / 1.5	21 / 18.1	9 / 7.8
18	10 / 10.2	5 / 5.2	10 / 10.4	3 / 3.1	15 / 10.8	8 / 6.7	22 / 17.7	11 / 8.9	22 / 11.6	14 / 7.4	40 / 20.6	8 / 4.1	12 / 10.3	6 / 5.2
19	10 / 13.2	3 / 3.9	14 / 14.6	8 / 8.3	15 / 12.5	8 / 6.2	17 / 13.7	12 / 4.7	25 / 13.2	17 / 9.0	32 / 16.8	19 / 9.8	13 / 11.2	7 / 6.0
20-25	24 / 31.7	25 / 32.5	16 / 16.6	45 / 46.9	39 / 32.4	45 / 37.5	22 / 17.7	43 / 34.6	74 / 31.1	67 / 35.4	54 / 27.9	44 / 22.7	29 / 25.0	25 / 33.5
26-30	5 / 6.5	19 / 25.1	1 / 1.0	10 / 10.4		21 / 17.6	1 / .8	24 / 9.4	17 / 9.0	36 / 19.0	12 / 9.1	26 / 13.4	5 / 4.3	21 / 18.9
Over 30	—	12 / 15.9	1 / 1.0	10 / 10.4	1 / .8	22 / 18.0	1 / .8	17 / 13.7	11 / 5.7	26 / 13.6	3 / 1.5	34 / 17.4	1 / .9	17 / 14.8
NA	4 / 5.2	2 / 2.6	2 / 2.1	4 / 4.2	11 / 6.2	2 / 1.6	8 / 6.4	5 / 4.0	7 / 3.7	8 / 4.1	5 / 2.6	57 / 20.1	6 / 5.2	20 / 12.0
Totals AF	76	76	96	96	120	120	124	124	189	189	194	194	116	116

+ Grant, D.R.B. For 1980 Statistics on Teenage Mothers in the Target Areas, see Table I p. 24: Life Style Study Volume II: Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas, 1981.

From a study of Table II it will be observed that there were isolated cases of the "First" child having been born to a 10 year old, 11 year old (6) and 12 year old (4) "mothers". Not shown in the Table are the few cases of 40-50 year olds, and the five cases of 51-53 year olds who had given birth to the "Target child" of the study. It is interesting to note that 33% of the "Target child" in the study were born to mothers 20-25 years old -- except in the case of the rural village of Jamaica (St. Ann) where only 22.7% of the mothers were in this age range. In the case of "First" child 33% of the mothers were also 20-25 years old, but in St. Kitts and St. Vincent the mothers in this age group represented 16.6% and 17.7% respectively, of the target population. A somewhat interesting result is the fact that the number of teenage mothers (13-19 years old) with a first child ranged from a low of 42.7% of those interviewed in Barbados, to a high of 79.7 of those in St. Kitts, 74.1 in St. Vincent, and an average of 68.2 of those in Jamaica. More significant is that part of the Table which shows that of the 550 teenagers in this study who had a "first child about 41.3% went on to have a "Target" child", with Antigua (41.8), St. Lucia (44%), St. Vincent (38%) and Barbados (67%) showing the highest percentage of teenage mothers with a "First" child and a "Target child". Of course, it is obvious that 227 of these teenage mothers (including 3 cases of 14 years old) have at least two children and/or the "Target child" could be the second, third or fourth child of the mother.

The data in Table II compare very favourably with Roberts' findings on the question of child-bearing age in the West Indies -- "for all populations the most important age-range for starting child-bearing is 15-19"[+] years. It

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[+] Roberts, G.W. Op.cit.

would seem also that the information in the Table suggests Roberts' claim that maximum fertility occurs in the age range 20-24 years.

In 1981 the Barbados Minister of Health in putting the microscope on sexuality in his country with particular reference to teenage girls, pointed out that (i) 70% of Barbadian babies are born out of wedlock, (ii) of 4,211 born in 1979, over 40% were born to teenagers 17 years old and under. He lamented the fact that "this means that 10% of our population are being brought up by 'baby mothers' -- it is a case of children having and rearing children."+ In addressing an Annual Meeting of the Teachers' Association in St. Thomas Dr. Ronald Lampart, Senior Medical Officer and Surgeon at the Princess Margaret Hospital (the parish hospital) bemoaned the fact that in one year over 4,000 babies were born to teenage mothers in the Jubilee Maternity Hospital, Kingston; and 33⅓% of the births in the Princess Margaret Hospital were to girls between 13 and 18 years old. He was saddened by the knowledge that a 14 year old was having her second child, six 16 year olds their second child, a 17 year old her fourth and five 18 year olds their third.

The underprivileged in different islands in the Caribbean, and their different communities within an island exhibit different attitudes toward pregnancy among teenagers.

+ Brathwaite, Lloyd. Speech to Annual General Meeting of the Local Family Planning Association, reported in the Daily Gleaner, Sunday November 1, 1981.

McKnight[+] reports that in

> "Hectors River, a small town in Eastern Portland, (Jamaica) a girl is not a girl if she does not have a child by the time she is seventeen. Therefore by some perceptual process among the people she is downgraded from a girl to a mule."

This attitude is common in at least three of the islands in the study. For this reason illegitimacy is usually high among the underprivileged, mainly because they cannot afford a "big wedding" and also it is accompanied more by the fear of what society thinks than by moral regrets. In some households the mother receives the news of her daughter's pregnancy with a great scene -- she beats the girl and throws her out of the household because "she brings disgrace on the family". More often than not, the girl is rescued by an aunt, a grandmother, a sister or a friend who may eventually intercede on her behalf. Usually, after this show of disgust the mother (even if she herself has a number of illegitimate children) softens up, readmits the daughter to the household, and eventually assumes responsibility for the care and nurturing of the child. It must be pointed out that very often where the mother scolds the "fallen" daughter she is merely demonstrating to the community her acceptance of middle class values of premarital behaviour.

There is another attitude displayed by mother and pregnant teenager. Where the girl becomes pregnant, -- while living in the household -- she takes it for granted that she will continue to live there, and her parents show a willingness to assume major responsibility for the pre-natal care of the pregnant teenager, and eventually for her baby.

[+] McKnight, Franklin A. "This Breeding Must Stop" in the Daily Gleaner, Sunday September 16, 1979.

The emphasis on and concern for the age of the mother at the time of the birth of the child are due to two significant observations. Firstly, "it is strikingly clear that the older a mother was, the warmer she was toward her child."[+] Secondly, Field[•] in reporting his findings on the behavioural differences between the offsprings of teenage and adult parents, observed that infants of teenagers were "rated less optimally in their adaptability, approach to stimuli, distructibility and level of activity."

iii Mother's Visits to Clinic

There is a school of thought which argues that parents should be young enough to be flexible and adaptable in their ways in order that "the relationship between them and child can become one of mutual companionship".[¢] Perhaps, this is one reason why early child-bearing is not viewed with much guilt among some people -- "some of whom view it with acceptance, pride and proof of fertility."[$]

It is almost axiomatic that how a woman relates (feels and behaves) to her new born baby is affected by her attitude to and expectations of pregnancy, child-birth, and

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[+] Sears, Robert R. et al. Patterns of Child Rearing. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1957.

[•] Field, T. Early Development of the Premature Offspring of Teenage Mothers. Miami, Florida. Mailman Center, University of Florida, 1979.

[¢] Sullerot, E. Woman, Society and Change. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971.

[$] Forde, Aston. In his "General Comments and Observations" re the areas involved in the study in St. Thomas. (Jamaica), 1980.

whether or not the child was wanted. That school of thought which believes in young parenthood, also points out that the majority of teenage and other young mothers are usually unprepared for the role they have to play in child-rearing. In fact, in the Caribbean, where there is little or no communication between the teenage girl and her mother on adolescent sexual behaviour, methods of birth control, behaviour during pregnancy, it is safe to say that the girls in the high fertility age range do not know what is expected of them after conception -- during pregnancy, labour and the initial care of the child. Usually, what the girl knows about these "facts of life" is gained from a variety of sources, some of which are loaded with superstitious beliefs, such as:

(a) "If you don't have sexual intercourse one will not keep healthy."

(b) "Sexual relations during pregnancy strengthens the child and helps to form the brain."

(c) "If the pregnant woman eats a lot of ochroes, and cacti this will help her have an easy delivery or labour."

(d) "The greater the frequency of sexual intercourse during pregnancy the easier will the labour and delivery be."

(e) "A pregnant woman must not walk over a rope by which an animal is tied or else the child will take a long time to be born."

Because of the young mothers' varying degrees of beliefs in superstitions like these, and their ignorance about the nature of child-bearing and child-rearing the importance of the HEALTH CLINIC assumes great significance. Information collected on the frequency of the mothers' visits to the clinics during pregnancy (DP) and during the first six months (FSM) after the birth of the child is given in Table III.

TABLE III

Frequency of Mothers' Visits to Clinic

Frequency of Visits (times) AF/RF	Antigua		St. Kitts		St. Lucia		St. Vincent		Barbados		Jamaica			
											St. Ann		St. James	
	DP	FSM	DP	FSM	DP	FSM	DP	FSM	DP	FSM	DP	FSM	DP	FSM
0	6 8.5	32 42.1	6 7.2	47 49.6	-	-	1 .9	12 9.7	-	-	23 12.5	27 13.9	2 1.4	2 1.7
1	1 1.4	30 39.5	1 1.2	21 21.9		2 1.7	4 3.5	5 4.0	6 3.2	180 95.2	25 13.6	32 16.5	-	2 1.7
2	-	4 5.3	4 4.8	10 10.4		5 4.2	3 2.6	12 9.7		1 .5	21 11.4	12 6.2	- -	- -
3	1 1.4	1 1.4	3 3.5	4 4.2		2 1.7	1 .9	5 4.0	-	-	11 6.0	- -	- -	2 1.7
4	2 2.8	-	10 12.0	-	1 .8	-	5 4.4	1 .8	-	1 .5	7 3.8	1 .5	-	1 .9
5	-	-	-	-	3 2.5	84 70.0	1 .9	5 4.0	-	-	1 .5	-	-	-
6-9	40 56.3	2 2.6	31 37.3	- -	103 85.8	26 21.7	45 39.5	56 45.2	1 .5	1 .5	95 51.6	107 55.2	100 93.5	95 81.9
Over 9	21 29.6	-	28 33.7	-	13 12.8	1 .8	54 47.4	13 10.5	179 96.2	3 1.6	1 .5	-	5 4.7	1 .9
NA	5 7.1	7 9.2	13 15.5	14 14.6	-	-	10 8.8	15 12.1	3 1.6	3 1.6	10 5.0	15 7.7	9 8.5	13 11.2

The clinic is expected to provide regular checks throughout pregnancy and to help prepare the "inexperienced first pregnant woman" for her "labour" and child-care role. From Table III it will be seen that there is a great difference between the anti-natal and post-natal use of the clinics during pregnancy and the first six months after birth of the child. In Barbados, for example, 94.7% of the pregnant mothers sought anti-natal treatment and guidance over nine times, but the post-natal attendance dropped to 1.6%. On the other hand, one-time attendance at the clinic was registered by 3.2% of the anti-natal mothers and 85.2% of the post-natal mothers, respectively. This pattern was common to all the islands in the study, and therefore could be a contributory factor to the inadequate provision for the proper health and care of the baby and the mother during the first six months after birth, as well as to the high rate of mortality in the region, generally. It will be observed, also, that for those mothers who attended the clinics 6 to 9 times, the greatest drop in frequency from anti-natal to post-natal was in St. Lucia (103 cases to 36), while in St. Vincent and Jamaica the anti-natal and post-natal attendances at this frequency level (6 to 9 times) remained approximately steady.

The disparity between the frequencies of anti-natal and post-natal attendance at the clinics could be due to a conflict between the advice of the clinic staff and that of the older ones in the household. It may also be due to the gap between the knowledge and attitude of the doctors, nurses, and midwives regarding the normality of pregnancy and the home beliefs which make out pregnancy as a period of illness with a catalogue of "Don'ts".

iv. Breast-Feeding

Despite the considerable research on the incidence and influence of breast-feeding on the development of children it is still a debatable question which mothers have to resolve without any degree of conclusive evidence to support their decision to feed by breast or bottle. Near the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century doctors and nutritionists approached this issue from the problem of infant nutrition. The results of a variety of studies covering different geographic regions indicated that the decision to breast-feed or bottle-feed correlated very highly with:

(a) the educational level of the mother: The least educated mothers seem to breast-feed their babies as a normal way of life. An example is found in Nigeria where girls who attended High School were quick to adopt the "civilised" notion that breast-feeding was primitive;

(b) the socio-economic factors: Br•nfenbrenner[+] concluded that most studies showed more mothers from the lower socio-economic bracket breast-feeding their babies and for longer periods than is the case in the middle and upper income brackets. In fact, mothers in these latter income brackets were always searching for reasons to justify use of bottle-feeding;

[+] Brenfenbrenner, U. "Socialisation and Social Class through and Space". In Maccoby, Newcomb and Hartley (eds) Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1958.

(c) the geographic position/cultural factors: In general, the results of some studies show that (i) the larger the size and population of the community the smaller was the incidence of breast-feeding, (ii) a small percentage of breast-feeding occurred at hospitals in/near a metropolitan area which tended to boost the rate of bottle-feeding;

(d) the occupation of the householder: As with the education of mothers, it has been discovered that the greatest incidence of breast-feeding was in families where the head of the household was classified as "labourer".

It is not difficult to understand, therefore, the observation that in the Target Areas Mothers in the higher socio-economic bracket and in the higher occupational group were less inclined to report on -- and/or acknowledge breast-feeding. Three basic reasons for this reluctance emerged -- (i) they were too busy to be tied down to a routine like this, (ii) they disliked this nursing process because it was widely practised by the poor and (iii) they feared that breast-feeding would "pull down" their bosom, and they would lose the "maiden form of their breasts". The vigorous campaign being waged by the nutritionists and child-care organisations in the region since 1975, (the "breast is best") is gradually changing the attitude of the rich and the poor toward the value of breast-feeding.

In the Caribbean region the mothers most likely to breast-feed their babies naturally for 4 to 6 months were those who (with 53% having a duration of over 6 months as normal) worked on the sugar cane estates, in the banana fields, in the fishing villages, and/or lived in the deep

rural areas or the slums of the cities. About equally inclined to breast-feeding were those women with an incomplete primary school education. In both cases these women breast-fed their babies more frequently and experienced no feeling of discomfort re exposing their breasts, since this is more or less close to a normal way of life for them, and as descendants of the African slaves they take pride in emulating their "fore-mothers" whose upper parts of the body are exposed without shyness and/or embarrassment.

v. Training in Toileting

In most privileged homes and in developed countries generally, toileting is a "developmental task" which children are expected to be taught and to complete within a given time frame. Doctors and others seem not to be able to agree on the age at which toilet training should begin, but the data from the study of Davis and Havighurst[+] suggest a median age of 7.5 months and 9.1 months for children of the middle class and lower class mothers, respectively. On the other hand, Whiting and Child[•] found "2 years as the median for beginning toilet training in primitive societies."

The completion age has been equally controversial, but it would appear that there is greater concensus on a median of 2 years.

On the basis of these and other studies it seems safe to expect toilet training to begin after the child is 4 months old and to be mastered by the age of 2 years.

[+] Davis, A. and R.J. Havighurst. "Social Class and Colour Differences in Child-rearing." American Social Revolution Vol. 11, 1946.

[•] Whiting, J.W.M., and I.L. Child. Child Training and Personality. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

In the Caribbean no specific studies have been done on this aspect of child-rearing. Two things are certain: (i) the conditions under which many underprivileged children of the region live do not ensure them toilet facilities and in most cases the "bush" or the "pit" in the yard is the only available sanitary convenience for a group of households, and (ii) among the low or no-income bracket parents the children are left to learn toileting by themselves as they grow up, and the mother's and/or older sibling's role is to keep the children clean. In the worse cases the children are without clothes on the lower part of the body, therefore the need for bowel training is not pressing. Grant[+] observes that, "In all the Caribbean Islands although the water supply may be considered fairly satisfactory to good, the toilet facilities --- have much to be desired." He goes on to show that in Jamaica the "pit" accounts for 65% of the toilet facilities, and in the other islands the percentage is equally high. He further observes that, "Of course, some of the 'pit' type of facilities really belong to the 'bush' category with no privacy except that provided by the surrounding vegetation."

PART II: Aspects of Child Development

(i) Behavioural and Developmental Experiences

Among the very important functions of a family is that of providing a situation in which children interact with people, places and things in order to develop a sense of "self". This development of the "self" is dependent, to a large extent, upon the mother's perception of the child, that

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Op.cit.

is the extent to which she perceives the child as a self-functioning person. For this reason, the questions under Sections 5 and 6 of the PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (PAINTS) were designed to elicit the householder's opinions of the child's behaviour and developmental growth pattern, as well as to ascertain her own expectations re the child's future behaviour.

Responses to the questions on "defend himself" and "aggression" suggest that parents do expect their children to "stand up for their rights". Despite this general expectation it was obvious that most parents were not too permissive toward agression in their girls, although the fight to survive forced the girls from low- no-income bracket families to "push" for whatever they thought was their right to get. In the battle for survival in the society, the deprived parent has to "hustle" in order to meet the basic needs of life. The children learn this as they grow and therefore become aggressive in speech and action. The impression was formed that parents in the urban areas of Jamaica expected their girls to have equal rights to participate in quarrels with their siblings and/or others, but in the rural areas and in the other Target Areas in the region, the girls were given less encouragement to fight back in public. In these areas parents expected their daughters to "grow up like ladies", to "marry someone of substance" so as to enjoy a better lot in life "than my present state."

The size of the families coupled with the life of poverty lived by them, and the fight for survival, could stand in the way of some parents finding the time or having the energy to give affection to their children. In fact, by force of circumstance restrictive discipline is the order of the day in the homes, and so the children become frustrated

in their efforts to secure their mother's attention and affection. This usually results in aggressive behaviour and/or over dependence on the mother/adult. Nevertheless, in most deprived households children are taught from very early to be kind to one another. Davenport[+] reports that "from an early age youngsters were taught to share almost everything they received with their brothers, sisters and help siblings, and friendly neighbours."

Grant[•] observes that:

> "since the extended family is no longer a common phenominon in the region, and more mothers are forced to join the labour force, the demand for pre-school institutions for the 0-6 year olds has increased during this decade....."

For this reason the question on whether or not the child was "looking forward with enthusiasm to going to school", is very significant. The educational level of the parents of the deprived children was low, many of them did not have a rewarding school experience, resulting in an incomplete primary school career. Their notion of a school was one in which the teacher was strict -- maintained a good discipline -- "the pickney dem can fool dem self." These experiences coupled with their notion of "good discipline", seem to lead to the parents' inability to adequately prepare their children for school. Generally, parents present the school, to their children, as the place where children are dealt with for

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[+] Davenport, William. The Family System of Jamaica. Social and Economic Studies, 1961.

[•] Grant, D.R.B. Op.cit.

their wrong doings -- "wait till you go to school"; "when you go to school teacher will know what to do with you", "when I take you to school I will tell the teacher not to spare the rod and spoil you". Utterances like these contribute to the negative structure of the child's interaction with his teacher and peers, and also restrict his use of language as well as his desire for asking questions in the home. It is evident that because of the restricted living style of the majority of deprived families in the region; because of the restricted experience level of the children; and because of the limited opportunities for free speech in the home, the children's verbal function is restricted as defined by Bernstein+, and supported by Deutsch•.

ii. Child-oriented Parental Attitude and Beliefs

Any satisfying exchange between mother and child is sure to stimulate affective and cognitive development. The literature on Mother-child relationships paints the role of the mother as an energiser, keeper of a sense of balance between discomfort and comfort, stimulation and quiet, and activity and passivity. These roles resulting from the close daily contacts which the mother has with the child, should place her in a position to give an opinion (though subjective) on some of the demonstrated character of her

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+ Bernstein, B. "Social Class and Linguistic Development." In A.H. Halsey, et al (eds) Society, Economy, and Education. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961.

• Deutsch, Martin. "The Role of Social Class in "Language Development and Cognition." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, # 35, 1965.

child, as well as on her own attitudes and aspirations concerning his growth. Table IV gives a summary of the data generated by the questions seeking information on child-oriented parental opinion, beliefs and attitude.

TABLE IV (a)

Parental Opinion on Some Child's Demonstrated Character

AF
RF

(a) Stubborn

Target Areas	Very Often	Sometimes	Now and Again	N A	Totals
Antigua	20 26.3	34 44.7	15 19.7	7 9.1	76
St. Kitts	18 19.1	40 43.6	21 22.3	15 16.0	94
St. Lucia	6 5.3	50 44.2	12 10.6	45 39.0	113
St. Vincent	28 22.8	72 58.5	18 14.6	5 4.1	123
Barbados	52 32.5	73 45.6	32 21	3 1.8	160
JAMAICA					
St. Ann	29 17.6	96 56.2	15 9.1	25 15.0	165
St. James	44 41.5	21 19.6	11 10.4	30 28.3	106

Children who live under adverse conditions, like in ghettos, in tenement yards; who are deprived of the basic necessities of life; and who witness parental/adult drunkenness and different forms of abuse and violence, experience the presence of external danger daily. This outer danger

causes the children to become "tough" and develop an early coping orientation to life in order to live in/with their dangerous neighbourhood. Generally, they are deprived of a positive pace-setter and parental control in the household. Under these circumstances many of them find it very difficult to accommodate flexibility -- they stick tenaciously to what they know, to the way of life they know. Confronted with lack of inner assurance, and surroundings which hold threatening possibilities, they become stubborn/defiant.

As might be expected, the data in Table IV (A) indicate that householders observed that their children exhibited traits of stubbornness. From a Caribbean point of view this is not strange since parents do expect their children not to stand up against authority -- not to reason why, not to have a thought of their own that is different from the thinking of their elders. Any delay in the execution of a command from an adult is interpreted as stubbornness/defiance. The frequencies under "often" and "sometimes" make up from 52% to 80% of the responses from householders, while "Now and Again" accounts for a range of 9% to 22%.

When children exhibit this trait, parents, usually do not only show dismay, and become offended, but also reassert their authority.

Parent and parenting education among the underprivileged is necessary to let parents realise that every child behaves this way from time to time, and it is a phase which may not last for very long.

(b) Obedience

AF/RF

Target Areas	Strongly Agree			Agree			Disagree			Strongly Disagree		
	d	e	f	d	e	f	d	e	f	d	e	f
Antigua	2 / 2.6	17 / 22.4	10 / 13.2	34 / 44.7	59 / 77.6	63 / 82.6	34 / 44.7	-	2 / 2.6	6 / 7.9		1 / 1.3
St. Kitts	9 / 9.2	53 / 55.2	66 / 68.8	40 / 43.5	39 / 40.6	25 / 26	35 / 38	3 / 4.2		8 / 8.7	1 / 1.0	1 / 1.0
St. Lucia	3 / 2.7	14 / 12.8	6 / 5.4	41 / 36.6	88 / 80.7	83 / 69.7	58 / 51.8	6 / 5.4	24 / 20.2	10 / 8.6	1 / .4	6 / 5.4
St. Vincent	7 / 5.9	48 / 39.	42 / 34.4	29 / 24.6	68 / 55.3	61 / 50.	66 / 55.9	5 / 4.1	15 / 12.3	16 / 13.6	2 / 1.6	4 / 3.3
Barbados	1 / .6	3 / 1.8	2 / 1.2	6 / 3.4	152 / 82.6	56 / 30.6	142 / 70.3	29 / 16.0	121 / 66.1	30 / 16.8	-	4 / 2.2
JAMAICA												
St. Ann	2 / 1.1	125 / 66.5	89 / 47.1	50 / 27.3	60 / 31.9	81 / 42.9	126 / 68.9	3 / 1.5	19 / 10.1	5 / 2.7	-	-
St. James	8 / 7.2	80 / 69.6	44 / 38.3	44 / 39.6	31 / 27	57 / 49.6	49 / 44.1	4 / 3.5	8 / 7.	10 / 9.	-	6 / 5.2

By and large, people in the region tend to raise their children in the way they were brought up - they even tend to give them the same type of food from the same dish with the same spoon, and create the same type of atmosphere in which they are to grow. They expect them to conform to the same type of discipline. Education and the media have done much to introduce parents to changes in certain child-rearing practices, particularly in the area of strict parenting techniques. Although the more permissive parenting is catching on, in the

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d: Children must be seen and not heard

e: Children must obey their parents and behave themselves

f: Don't spare the rod and spoil the child

region, certain expectations re child-parent relationship remain steadfast.

Perhaps because of the size of the family, or the limited time at her disposal for permitting exploration, or lack of know how, parents expect the child, from very early to do what he is told. The conditions under which some families live force the adults to impose certain restrictions in order to protect the children from external danger. The essence of all this is obedience which is made much of in the region's child-rearing practices.

The opinion of parents on the question of "obedience" is reflected in TABLE IV (b). The data show how the parents reacted to the three questions which are the theses of the general beliefs on obedience, in the region. Generally, there was significant disagreement in every island to "Children must be seen and not heard", with Barbados showing a high 87% (disagree and strongly disagree), St. Ann (Jamaica) a high 71% and St. Vincent and St. Lucia over 55%. The case of St. Ann (Jamaica) needs further investigation, since obedience is usually the hallmark of child-rearing practice in the rural areas where the family is likely to be more stable. The almost complete rejection of the statement by Barbadians, seems to account for the ease with which the children speak with and to adults.

On the question of "Children must obey their parents and behave themselves," St. Ann (Jamaica) and St. Kitts show a high percentage of strong agreement (66⅔%) and 58.2%, respectively) while the other Target Areas show a middle-of-the-road agreement, with Barbados (82.6%) St. Lucia (80.7%) and Antigua (77.6%) showing the highest percentage. Although the "disagree" and "strongly disagree" frequencies were few numerically, it would be enlightening to investigate the reason(s) for these responses.

The frequency distribution to "Don't spare the rod and spoil the child", shows some significant features. St. Kitts (68%) and St. Ann (Jamaica) 47%) showed a strong agreement with the statement. In the case of St. Kitts, "strongly agree" and "agree" accounted for 96% of the responses. On the other hand, in Antigua (82%), St. Lucia (69%) and St. Vincent (50%) the respondents showed middle-of-the-road agreement with the statement. The interviewed parents in Barbados have disagreed (70%) and strongly disagreed (16%) with the statement. Perhaps, support for the statement is due to the fact that it is biblical, and is often repeated in church and at Parent Teachers' Meetings. It is therefore accepted without much thought as to its import.

On the whole, when responses to "the child should obey his parents well" in another section of the questionnaire, are seen in the light of the above data, it is safe to conclude that in Barbados and St. Lucia it is considered "desirable" for children to obey their parents, whereas in the other islands it is "very desirable". Responses to one of the "child's demonstrated character" as seen by the parents show that their notion of "well behaved" was based on the level of obedience of their children whose up-bringing is geared to teach them to behave.

(c) Loving, Sharing, Kindly Disposed to Others

Analysis of the data, not represented here show that all the respondents reported that their children were loving and a source of comfort to them. The response frequwncies to these areas of the "child demonstrated character" range from 68% to 93% and 64% to 96%, respectively. These opinions suggest that despite the underprivileged living conditions of these people, and although in some instances children were

frustrated in their efforts to secure their mothers' attention, there was still the atmosphere that encouraged the children to show love overtly to their mothers and siblings.

The data in TABLE IV (c) provide support for Davenport's finding that "from an early age youngsters were taught to share ----."

(c) Sharing and Kindly Disposed to Others

AF
RF

Target Areas	Very Desirable	Desirable	Not really Necessary	Not at all necessary	Total (A.F.)
Antigua	60 80	15 20	-	-	75
St. Kitts	92 95.8	2 2.1	1 1.	1 1.	96
St. Lucia	2 1.9	69 67.	32 31.1	-	103
St. Vincent	19 15.8	88 73.3	11 9.2	2 1.6	120
Barbados	71 38.6	113 61.4	-	-	184
JAMAICA					
St. Ann	131 69.3	56 29.6	2 1.1	-	189
St. James	48 44.4	60 55.6	-	-	108

More and more, the countries of the world are learning and taking part in the sharing of their human and material resources with one another -- especially developed with developing countries. More and more privileged citizens of a country are being asked to share something with their less

fortunate fellowmen. It is imperative that the children of the region -- irrespective of their station in life -- learn and practise sharing, and showing a kind disposition to others.

From the data above it would seem that although deprived children had little or nothing to share, they were developing some of the social sensitiveness basic to sharing. Looking at the Table one sees that apart from St. Lucia where 31% of the respondents felt that "sharing and kindly disposed to others" (concern for the welfare of others) was "not really necessary" for their children to learn, the householders practised that the welfare of the social group in the home depended very largely upon the willingness of each member to share what is available. In fact, in these depressed homes, the families have learned to share material things among several individuals, and even to make self-denials for the benefit of someone else. Studies[+] have revealed that children who come from a home where each individual learned to share and show concern for the other, (privileged or deprived) are more likely to show a willingness to share because they have experienced that the greatest happiness of each group member comes through sharing with others.

iii. Attachment Behaviour

(a) Attachment

The bond of attachment which a child forms with his mother is reciprocal in the sense that the child's cries bring certain definite responses, such as holding, feeding

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[+] Grant, Eva I. "The Effect of Certain Factors in the Home Environment upon Child Behaviour." Studies in Parent Education, University of Iowa Studies, Vol. XV; 1939.

cuddling, from the mother. Ainsworth et al[+] observe that:

> "The mother has accepted the baby and responsibility for his care, despite the fact that he interferes with other activities. She respects his autonomy as a separate individual and indeed enjoys noticing his individuality and the ways in which he asserts his wishes. She remains consistently accessible to him --- She is sensitively aware of his signals and responds to them promptly."

The status of the infant-mother attachment depends on the responsiveness of the mother as well as on the temperament of the child -- an active and responsive baby is likely to receive more attention and stimulation than a quiet and complacent child. Harlow[*] in his experiments with monkeys found, inter alia, that attachment occurred when needs for stimulation were fulfilled, and therefore the human infant needed more than food to form attachments -- he needed cuddling and sensitive treatment to give status to the infant-mother attachment.

In the Caribbean Ainsworth's[+] two types of "attachment behaviours" exist in varying degrees. These "attachment behaviours" are:

(a) "signalling behaviour" through which the mother is stimulated to come into closer contact with the child,

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[+] Ainsworth, M.O.S., S.M. Bell and D.J. Stayton. "Infant Mother Attachment and Social Development." In The Integration of a Child into a Social World. (ed. M.P. Richards) Cambridge University Press 1974.

[*] Harlow, H.F. "The Development of Affectionate Patterns in Infant Monkeys." In Determinants of Infant Behaviour, Vol. I ed. B.M. Foss, London: Methuen, New York. 1975.

(b) "approach behaviour", the effect of which is to bring the child to the mother.

Crying which is the most conspicuous of the signalling behaviours, does affect every mother in the region not so much because the child is hungry - but mainly because (i) he was bitten by an insect, or (ii) "him have a bad dream", or (iii) "him wet" or (iv) him long to see me", or (v) "him just miserable like him father." By and large, the mother responds very readily to what is referred to as the "pain-type" of cry which they claim they can discriminate from the one which spells "hunger". In some Target Areas a type of crying is associated with "something funny in the house", and if it is prolonged after response from the mother the help of a "four-eye-man" is sought. In most underprivileged homes, the baby's cry is ignored for some time before receiving any attention from the mother, as it is felt that crying will "give the baby a singing voice" and will "make his lungs strong".

Where there is a grandmother or an older sibling the child is attended to with some urgency. In general, there is closer attachment between mother and an only or the first child in the household, but by the time the child is ready to go to an early childhood education institution, the attachment is weak, often because another child has usually made its appearance by then, therefore, separation is not as traumatic (separation anxiety) as is the case in the privileged family. In short, the children of the underprivileged become more independent of their mother earlier in life than those of the privileged in the region. However, this could result in insecurity due to the fact that the deprived child with a strong need for nurturance and affection craves reassurance that his mother loves him.

Table V shows what the parent's thought of the statement "Too much love and attention will spoil the child."

TABLE V

Opinion re Love and Attention to Child.

AF
RF

Target Areas	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Totals (A.F)
Antigua	2 2.6	36 47.4	33 43.4	5 6.6	76
St. Kitts	10 10.6	28 29.8	30 31.9	26 27.7	94
St. Lucia	1 .8	50 42.0	61 51.3	7 5.9	119
St. Vincent	16 13.2	64 52.9	33 27.3	8 6.6	121
Barbados	-	15 8.3	141 78.3	24 13.3	180
JAMAICA					
St. Ann	2 1.1	58 30.7	112 59.3	17 9	189
St. James	9 8	24 21.2	67 59.3	13 11.5	113

It is interesting to note that Barbados was the only island in which there was almost complete rejection of the statement by the respondents (91%). This result compares favourably with their rejection of the "child must be seen and not heard". Judging from this Table, and Freud's opinion that love has its origin in attachment to the satisfied need for nourishment it would appear that the attachment behaviour of infants and mothers is very strong in Barbados and parts of Jamaica. Of the other Target Areas

St. Vincent had more people (66%) who agreed with the statement, while in Antigua opinions were evenly divided between agreement and disagreement.

Evidences of the "approach behaviours" was seen in situations like the following:

(a) When the child started to walk, the mother, grandmother or older sibling would stand away from him, hold up/out something and invite/urge him to reach for it. This was the beginning of the child's use of all the locomotory skills at his disposal in order to achieve his set goal of proximity to his mother or other attachment figure. To the deprived family this movement and its mastery at an early age are important, as the earlier it is used independently, the earlier would the parent be able to leave the child alone and "go hustle".

(b) Mothers who worked on the sugar estates or in some banana fields took their babies with them, and rested them on the ground near enough to where they were working.

(c) Some mothers adopted the method of carrying the baby in a pocket-like contrivance attached to their back or in front of them.

(d) Because of the level of poverty, only a handful of householders had a separate bed for the baby, therefore the baby and his mother slept in the same bed - This would continue until the baby was big/old enough to go on his own somewhere else in the house. An obvious result of this arrangement is that where breast-feeding is practised it would be carried on for a longer time, since night feeding was inevitable for the duration of this sleeping arrangement.

(b) Cuddling

Although studies have proven the importance of infant-mother interaction in the socio-emotional development of the infant, the phenomenon of teenage mothers leads one to believe that these young mothers are under-prepared to put this notion of child care into practice. In fact, it is not surprising to find that some of these young mothers were shocked by the needs and behaviour of their babies. Hubert+ in a study of British working class women who were expecting their first babies, reported that they had very little information about child care.

It was observed that most of the mothers seen showed above average affection toward their babies, but those with older children demonstrated a low level of affection for their children. In fact, in a high percentage of the latter case the child was seen to make the initial affectionate move

+ Hubert, J. "Belief and Reality: Social Factors in Pregnancy and Children." In M.P.M. Richards (ed). The Integration of a Child into a Social World. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

toward the mother who seemed to tolerate the affection much more than to reciprocate it.

Most mothers do love their babies (Table V) and they make special efforts to attend to their needs -- this is expected of them by the older folks in the home/family. However, because of poverty which may create a hopeless outlook, or the house chores which absorb their time and energy, only cursory attention is given to the baby, except in instances where the family subscribes to superstitions, such as,

(a) "crying will rupture the baby's navel",

(b) "crying will make the navel grow big",

(c) "crying will make the child grow with a hoarse throat".

It must be emphasised that at least 34% of these mothers (Table V) was warm toward their babies, and this was demonstrated by some fondling, caressing and cuddling. Where these demonstrations of affection were not overtly in evidence, the excuse of a significant percentage of the mothers in some of the islands was to the effect that too much cuddling would contribute to the over-dependent behaviour of the babies. (Table V).

Respondents did not engage in cuddling the baby at meal time per se., except in cases where the child was ill or was not desposed to having a particular type of food. Infants were cuddled after they were fed (breast/bottle) but this would become less and less as the child grew older. There were instances in which the baby was cuddled to get him in the mood to sleep. Generally, cuddling was frequently used

as a response to infant crying. Ainsworth et al[+] in their research have found that both at the beginning, and still at the end of the first year, to pick a baby up and hold him is the intervention most effective in terminating crying -- "effective in more than 80% of the instances in which it occurs."

(c) Maternal Behaviour Related to Sex of Child

Despite the current emphasis on equality between the sexes, parents, especially mothers, continue to treat their male and female babies differently, and to expect different types of behaviour from them. Data on this expectation (Table VI) was obtained from responses to the statement "Even at this age (0-3 years) boys must behave differently from girls."

TABLE VI

Sex Differences: Expectations and Treatment

AF / RF

Target Areas	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Totals (A.F)
Antigua	-	58 / 77.3	17 / 22.7	-	75
St. Kitts	3 / 3.4	56 / 62.9	26 / 29.2	4 / 4.5	89
St. Lucia	-	73 / 61.3	40 / 33.6	6 / 5.0	119
St. Vincent	8 / 6.5	70 / 56.9	37 / 30.1	8 / 6.5	123
Barbados	1 / .5	82 / 44.1	99 / 53.2	4 / 2.2	186
JAMAICA					
St. Ann	2 / 1.1	103 / 56.6	71 / 39	6 / 3.3	182
St. James	5 / 4.7	37 / 34.9	59 / 55.7	5 / 4.7	106

[+] Ainsworth, M.O.S., et al op cit

The distribution of the frequencies in Table VI shows that there was a tendency for 61% to 77% of the mothers in the Leeward and Windward Islands to expect their "boy child" to behave differently from their "girl child". Although the percentage in Barbados (44.6%) and in Jamaica (average 48.5%) was not as high, it was sufficiently high to merit attention. Perhaps one of the over-riding factors which influenced the responses was the general feeling among underprivileged parents that if boys and girls are treated alike and allowed to participate in similar activities, the "boys will grow up to be sissy men" and the girls be "tom boys". The highest percentage of disagreements was in the two large islands where there was a strong "equal rights for women" movement and a Minister of State for Women's Affairs in the Government.

Researchers[+] who have observed sex differences in the behaviour of young children, have often attributed their findings to the differences in the mothers' handling of boys and girls. This has some validity in the Caribbean where:

(a) infant-mother attachment behaviour is closer with the female infant,

(b) the mother responds more quickly to the cries of her female baby than to those of her male child,

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[+] Goldberg, S. and M. Lewis. "Play Behaviour in the year-old Infant: Early Sex Differences." Child Development, Vol. 40; 1969.

(c) some mothers claimed that they breast-fed their female babies over a longer period than was done to their male babies,

(d) the boys are expected to be rough and tough, to play hard and to fight for their rights; but the girls are expected to be affectionate and placid and loving.

It must, however, be pointed out that among the deprived in the region girls are being encouraged by their parents to be more belligerent in order to survive, therefore from infancy the female is exposed to a treatment, a behaviour and a socialisation pattern similar to those of the baby boy in order to prepare them for living in the real world -- the world of struggle.

iv. Provision for Development of Visual-Motor Perceptual Skills

Students of child development are aware of the growth patterns of infants, and of the "average" age at which these infants acquire certain manipulative skills. Well-known is the fact that babies learn to control the upper part of their arms and forearms before they can control their fingers, and therefore are able to reach for an object before they can grasp it. The development of these motor skills depends inter alia, on the maturity of the child's nervous system, the health of the child, and on his exposure to opportunities which the environment provides for the practice of these skills. Children who grow up in a deficit environment (barren surroundings) may be retarded in physical growth and the development of manipulative skills. On the other hand children who are privileged to be reared in an enhancing environment (enriched surroundings) do have a visual-motor perceptual development start over their less privileged peers.

The importance of early experiences with play materials of different kinds, for the optimum physical development of the child is recognised by educators, psychologists and some parents. In fact, it is now acknowledged that free and easy play between parent and child is an important part of early learning, including social, cognitive, physical, and enotional learning. From the point of view of the development of the manipulative skills, the child needs a good home start -- a home in which the environment provides visual and tactile experiences. He needs to play with materials on which he can impose his own order and complexity -- sand, clay, paint, puzzle, blocks and of course "found materials" of every variety.

In order to get an idea of the nature of the home start children received in their interaction with play materials that will enhance their manipulative skills, questions were directed at the householder to ascertain the extent to which play materials were provided at home, and the extent to which the children interacted with adults in their household and others, in using these materials. The Tables immediately following have to do with the responses to these questions:

TABLE VII

(a) Art Materials Provided in the Home

AF / RF	TARGET AREAS						
Art Materials	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA	
						St. Ann	St. James
Paint	2 / 2.6	3 / 3.1	3 / 3.5	-	6 / 3.2	15 / 2.7	9 / 7.8
Crayon	1 / 1.3	3 / 3.1	3 / 3.5	5 / 4.0	4 / 2.1	8 / 4.1	9 / 2.8
Chalk	-	2 / 2.1	-	2 / 1.6	-	-	48 / 41.4
Pencil	15 / 19.7	13 / 13.5	26 / 21.7	29 / 23.4	28 / 14.5	30 / 15.5	37 / 31.9

(b) Modelling Materials Provided in the Home

AF/RF	TARGET AREAS						
Modelling Materials	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA St. Ann	JAMAICA St. James
Clay	-	-	-	2 / 1.6	4 / 3.2	-	8 / 6.9
Putty	-	-	79 / 59.2	-	-	-	45 / 38.8
Plasticene	-	-	-	1 / .8	30 / 20.6	-	48 / 41.4
Sand/Dirt	3 / 3.9	-	34 / 28.3	85 / 68.5	30 / 15.9	3 / 1.5	24 / 20.7

(c) Art Media and Toys Provided in the Home

AF/RF	TARGET AREAS						
Art Media & Toys	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA St. Ann	JAMAICA St. James
Puzzles	-	-	1 / .8	-	1 / .5	1 / .5	80 / 69
Books	5 / 6.6	7 / 7.3	4 / 3.3	15 / 12.1	31 / 16.4	13 / 6.7	31 / 26.7
Paper	5 / 6.6	9 / 9.4	37 / 30.8	23 / 18.5	2 / 1.1	17 / 8.8	4 / 3.4
Balls	54 / 71.1	26 / 27.1	56 / 46.7	39 / 31.5	51 / 27	102 / 52.6	45 / 38.8
Blocks	-	-	1 / .8	29 / 23.4	-	2 / 1.0	56 / 48.3

Taking the region as a whole there seemed to be insignificant provision for play materials in the households. From an examination of the Table VII (a, b, c) it will be seen that only

two items -- Putty, and Balls -- were provided in over 50% of the households in three islands. Putty was found in 59.2% of the households in St. Lucia and balls were available to children in 71% and 53% of the households in Antigua and St. Ann (Jamaica) respectively. It is difficult to rationalise the extent to which putty was introduced in the homes in St. Lucia, but in the case of the high percentage of balls in the two Target Areas, it is likely that the regionally national game of cricket is a factor in its popular introduction to the children. In Antigua, for example, parents speak to their children with some pride of the West Indian stars Vivian Richards (one of the world's greatest batsmen) and Andy Roberts (one of the world's fastest bowlers) - both Antiguan -- therefore the gift of a ball is considered laying the foundation for another Antiguan to excel at cricket.

It will be observed from the Table that St. James had more households with play materials including 80% with puzzles. The same would be the position in St. Elizabeth. A peculiar feature common to these two parishes in the presence of an organised parish Early Childhood Education Board managed and supported by the public spirited men/women of the private sector, who are committed to the improvement of Basic School facilities and equipment.

It is apparent from the data presented in Table VII (a, b, c) that:

(a) few children in the region were given toys or play materials to stimulate their imagination or to exercise their finger-muscles,

(b) the idea that children need to play with materials like these was still unfamiliar to parents, therefore their involvement in the play activities of/with their children was obviously absent,

(c) the materials most appropriate for the children's level of development -- paint, clay, plasticine, crayon and sand -- were conspicuous by their absence in the households,

(d) modelling materials were the least found and distributed of the play materials in the households; the two scarcely used items (chalk and puzzles) in the homes in the Leeward and Windward Islands and Barbados, had a high frequency in St. James (Jamaica); pencil, paper, balls, and books had the highest even distribution among the households in the region,

(e) this aspect of the child's preparation for school was sadly lacking throughout the region.

These observations and the fact that parents, especially mothers, were not involved in the play activities of their children, could have serious implications for the educational development of the children. The findings of Clarke-Stewart[+]

[+] Clarke-Stewart, K.A. "Interactions Between Mothers and Their Young Children: Characteristics and Consequences." Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development Vol. 38, 1973.

suggest that "the best single predictor of the child's play behaviour was the amount of stimulation with toys and objects which he received from his mother at home." The child's cognitive development and the complexity of his play with objects was apparently influenced by the amount of time his mother spent with him playing with materials.

v. Initiation into Household Chores and Self-help

Apart from their clothes, very few children in an underprivileged home have anything that could be labelled personal property, therefore there is no need to teach them to respect one another's property. In fact, in these homes ownership per se, is not very fixed as "mother and daughter borrow 'things' from each other," (so do siblings with nearly similar vital statistics), and the children are taught to be kindly disposed toward sharing in the household. Generally speaking, however, despite the size of the house and the number of people who live in it, the parents usually insist on some order -- place for the few things they have and cleanliness. They often quote, "Order is heaven's first law" and "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" as guidelines for the children. It is this insistence on order and cleanliness, as well as the fear of having to repair or replace a piece of damaged furniture that often causes parents to limit or forbid play activities in the home.

One of the outcomes of this order - cleanliness atmosphere is that children learn very early to "have a place for everything and put everything in its place"; they learn not to leave their shoes, etc. any and everywhere for someone else to pick them up, and the few who have toys and play materials learn to put them away when they have finished playing with them.

During the days of slavery children over 6 years old were formed into gangs for helping parents and neighbours with weeding in the canefields. Although the gang element is absent now, children in the rural areas are expected to sweep the yard, tether the goats or cows, feed the chickens, clean the house -- shine the floor with a coconut brush -- fetch water from a spring or standpipe and help "care" the younger baby. This custom of children of the poor being responsible for and/or helping with house chores is so deeply rooted in the English-speaking Caribbean islands that, despite the absence of toys etc. that contribute to the development of the visual motor perceptual skills, they learn to button their clothes, and lace their shoes much earlier than their counterparts in privileged homes.

PART III: Education, Occupation, Income, Reading Habits

(i) Education of Household Head

Educators agree that the educational level of parents is an important factor in the quality of the upbringing of a child. It influences the quality, stimulation provided for the child, the parent-infant interaction process created and maintained, and the variety of experiences to which the child is exposed as he grows from infant to childhood.

Grant+ in commenting on the national level of education in the Target Areas observed that:

+ Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study..... Vol. II: Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas. 1981. p.p. 40.

> "The expansion of the education system between 1950 and 1960 was one of the most outstanding features of development in the Caribbean. During the decade of the 60's illiteracy in the region varied from 6% to 61%, but in the 70's the range was from 2% to 54%. From this positive change in the level of literacy it would seem that the percentage of the population without any schooling had dropped appreciably in all of the islands."

In order to gain an understanding of the educational level of the interviewees in this study the following two Tables (VIII and IX) are used to summarise the type of education achieved by them.

TABLE VIII

Members of Household Educated at Secondary Level

AF / RF

Number in One House-Hold	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA	
						St. Ann	St. James
0	16 / 21.1	34 / 35.4	72 / 60.0	79 / 63.7	56 / 29.9	112 / 57.7	53 / 45.2
1	31 / 40.8	31 / 32.3	37 / 30.8	37 / 29.8	42 / 22.2	63 / 32.5	56 / 48.3
2	18 / 23.7	14 / 14.6	9 / 7.5	3 / 2.4	56 / 29.9	15 / 7.7	4 / 3.4
3	7 / 9.2	10 / 10.4	1 / .8	1 / .8	13 / 6.9	2 / 1.0	-
4	3 / 3.9	2 / 2.1	1 / .8	1 / .8	8 / 4.2	-	-
5	1 / 1.3	2 / 2.1	-	-	9 / 4.8	-	-
6	-	1 / 1.0	-	-	3 / 1.6	1 / .5	-
N.A	-	2 / 2.1	1 / 1.8	3 / 2.4	2 / 1.1	1 / .3	3 / 2.5
TOTALS(AF)	76	96	120	124	189	194	116

The information summarised in Table VIII revealed that:

(a) the households with over 50% of its members without secondary education were to be found in St. Vincent (63%), St. Lucia (60%) and St. Ann (Jamaica) (57%). In Antigua only 21% of the households did not have anyone with secondary education, but in absolute frequencies the highest numbers were in St. Ann (112), St. Vincent (79) and St. Lucia (72);

(b) there were households in all the islands with 1, or 2, or 3 members with secondary education. A breakdown of the distribution of this frequency shows that between 22% (Barbados) and 40% (Antigua) of the households had one person with secondary education, between 3% (St. James -- Jamaica) and 29.6% (Barbados) of the households had two persons with secondary education; and between 1% (St. Ann -- Jamaica) and 10.4% (St. Kitts) had three persons in the households with secondary education.

(c) Although Jamaica had no household with 4 or 5 or 6 of its members with secondary education, there was one household (in St. Ann) with at least seven of its members with secondary education;

(d) all of the islands, except Jamaica, had households with four of their members with secondary education. Antigua, St. Kitts and Barbados had households which included five members with secondary education, and St. Kitts and Barbados had households which included six members with secondary education.

A closer examination of Table VIII indicates a surprising result -- that only in 45% of the households in the study[+] were there no member with secondary education. This shows a very hopeful trend, especially when it is compared with the 1976 educational provision reported by Grant in his Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas.[•]

The distribution of members of households with tertiary education is given in Table IX.

TABLE IX

Members of Household Educated at Tertiary Level

AF / RF

Number in One Household	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA St. Ann	JAMAICA St. James
0	63 / 82.9	86 / 89.6	107 / 89.2	111 / 89.5	146 / 77.2	175 / 90.2	99 / 85.0
1	10 / 13.2	4 / 4.2	9 / 7.5	3 / 2.4	23 / 12.2	17 / 8.8	10 / 8.6
2	2 / 2.6	-	2 / 1.7	-	14 / 7.4	-	1 / .9
3	-	-	-	-	1 / .5	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	1 / .5	-	-
N.A	1 / 1.3	6 / 6.3	2 / 1.8	10 / 8.0	4 / 2.0	2 / 1.0	6 / 5.4
TOTALS(AF)	76	96	120	124	189	195	116

[+] Only two of the nine parishes are included in the treatment of the data on Jamaica.

[•] Table X, p.p. 41.

This Table indicates that 86% of the households in the study have no member with tertiary education. There were 8.3% of the households which included one member with tertiary education. It will be seen that 7.4% of the households in Barbados, 26% of those in Antigua and 1.7% of those in St. Lucia had two members with tertiary education.

One important question emerges from Tables VIII and IX - Did the members of a household with secondary and/or tertiary education include those who were students at the relevant institutions, or are they full-fledged graduates? Whatever may be the answer to this question, it would appear that the "age of the mother at birth of the first"Target child" as reflected in Table II, is a contributory factor to the apparently "high" percentage of households in the study having members with secondary and tertiary education.

It was pointed out that "during the decade of the 60's illiteracy in the region varied from 6% to 61%, but in the 70's the range was 2% to 54%. This latter situation has not changed much among the underprivileged heads of families -- it is much higher among the older heads. There are three outstanding reasons for this situation --

(a) it was not until the mid-sixties when many of the islands achieved their independence that the underprivileged began to see the need for and the value of education as a means for upward social mobility,

(b) although, politically, education was declared "free", it was expensive to the underprivileged who usually had 2 to 4 children at school during a given period,

(c) because the parents have to struggle and hustle for a living, their children are not permitted to attend school regularly, and may even drop out during the mid-stream of their primary school career.

According to Grant the overall national level of education in the Target Areas in 1976 was as follows:

TABLE X

National Level of Education in the Target Areas, 1976

	Percentage of Population					
	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	Jamaica
Primary	78.6	76.25	69.6	77.7	87.7	71.5
Secondary	3.7	9.46	7.1	9.4	14.7	6.9
College	0.8	NA	1.5		3.2	2.1
University	0.5	0.5	0.8	5.0	2.1	1.07
Vocational	0.8	NA	0.8	NA	1.1	1.13
Others	0.1	0.4	1.5	0.7	0.4	1.4
None	15.5	9.22	18.7	10.8	1.8	15.9

However, the Tables (VIII and IX) show that the educational level in each of the islands is changing for the better with each new generation of parents.

(ii) Occupation of the Household Head

It seems axiomatic that education, occupation and income, and place of residence separately and/or in combination do significantly affect the child-rearing practices and choices of a household. It would also, seem at any rate from the underprivileged family's point of view, that certain types of occupation are the preserves of the middle and upper classes, while other occupations are performed almost exclusively by the poor of the society.

Some students of occupational stratification are of the opinion that the higher the degree of intelligence necessary for the successful performance of an occupation the more privileged is that group of workers likely to be and the higher rank will the occupation occupy in the society. Perhaps, it is for this reason that unskilled manual workers are always at the bottom of the occupational ladder. In fact, Taussig[+] in describing the universal hierachy of the intellectual and manual occupations developed the following universally accepted classification:

> "At the top of the occupational classes we find the group of the 'professions', including the high officials and big business men; then we have the class of 'semi-professional' including small business men and higher clerks; below these, the class of 'skilled labour', 'semi-skilled labour', and finally 'common labour'."

[+] Taussig, F.W. Quoted in Social and Cultural Mobility by Pitirim A. Sorokin: The Free Press, New York, Collier - Macmillan Ltd. 1964.

Barr[+] in supporting this occupational hierachy, from the point of view of degree of intelligence, suggests the following intelligence indices necessary for the satisfactory performance of an occupation: ("the number of units of intelligence runs from 0 to 100").

Barr's Intelligence Indices Table

Indices of units of intelligence	Occupations
From 0 to 4.29	Odd jobs, garbage collection, day labourer, farm labourer, laundry worker, etc.
From 5.41 to 6.93	Dairyhand, deliveryman, cobbler, barber, etc.
From 7.05 to 10.83	General repair men, cook, policeman, brick-layer, postman, mason, plumber, carpenter, tailor, telegraph operator, linotype operator etc.
From 10.86 to 16.28	Detective, clerk, travelling salesman, Stenographer, librarian, nurse, teacher, preacher, chemist, engineer, architect, etc.
From 16.58 to 17.50	Wholesale merchant, consulting engineer, education administrator, physician, journalist, publisher, etc.
From 17.81 to 20.71	Great wholesale merchant, great musician, high national official, prominent writer, research leader, inventive genius, university professor

[+] Barr, F.E. Quoted in Social and Cultural Mobility.

From the above classification it will be observed that a low intelligence is expected of people who are involved in "common labour" jobs. The corollary of this expectation is that generally, as one goes from the 0 to 4.79, to the 17.81 to 20.71 ratings, the amount of income will show an increasing trend. However, from the point of the level of education the picture painted by Table IX and X suggests that the patterns of workers from underprivileged households will continue to improve, and so children of the poor will continue, in greater numbers, to be engaged in occupations which require performance from people with Barr's middle and high intelligence rating.

One of the vexed problems common to the region is that of unemployment. In Antigua, for example, 25% are unemployed, and there is a poverty index of 2.68. There are more serious cases of 40% to 60% unemployment. World Bank sources put the average poverty index at 4.23 for the "Less Developed Countries", and 2.38 for the "More Developed Countries" in the region.

The total labour force in St. Lucia was estimated at 35,151 in 1978, with a breakdown of 22,703 males and 12,448 females. The population between the ages of 14-24 was 16,360 of which 10,430 were men and 5,930 were women. Economic activity is largely concentrated in the production of bananas, coconut and vegetables for export, and tourism and manufacturing. Unemployment is estimated at 13% and consists largely of youth under 25 years.

As a result of the upward swing in the development of industry and tourism, there has been a marked shift of labour away from agriculture and an increased migration into Castries. The island's industrial activity is primarily undertaken by foreign investors, mainly because indigenous

ventures are handicapped by the lack of technical and managerial skills and the underdevelopment of physical facilities needed to promote investment. In fact the island is in the UNICEF's category 1(b), representing countries which receive high levels of assistance.

In 1979 the labour force of Barbados was estimated at 107,900 persons of which 50,000 were females, and 57,900 were male. Unemployment for both sexes was 12.8% in 1979, a figure representing 8,800 women and 5,000 men. Given the ratio of women to men in the labour force, Barbados has the highest participation rate of women of the countries under review.

In terms of the distribution of the labour force the manufacturing, trade and services sectors of the economy employ the highest number of persons.

Sugar production continues to be the mainstay of the economy accounting for 41,400 acres, between 30 and 45 percent of total exports, and employs 18,000 workers in season and 10,000 off season. In the manufacturing sector sugar processing is the main industry followed by the production of edible oils, soap, margine, and lard compounds. Barbados' estimated energy consumption is approximately 6,000 barrels of oil per day while 284,000 were produced locally in 1979 reducing the volume of annual imports from one million barrels to 929,000. Considering the high costs of fuel and imported goods, Barbados experienced an overall surplus of $27.7 million mainly as a result of high capital inflows from tourism -- 1979 net earnings to the tune of $302 million.

Jamaica's economy, while still relying on agriculture as its main employer of labour, is fairly diversified, with public administration, commerce, and manufacturing sectors for high levels of absorption of labour. In spite of the ability of the economy to absorb a significant amount of labour force, unemployment rates were as high in 1981 as in 1978, (about 33%) primarily among workers, carftsmen, unskilled manual and general occupations, and clerical and sales workers. Although Table XI is based on 1977-78 data, the information reflected there had not changed significantly in 1980-81.

TABLE XI

Number Employed and Percent Unemployed by Occupation, 1977-78+

Occupation	October 1977		April 1978		October 1978	
	Number employed ('000)	Percent unemployed ('000)	Number employed	Percent unemployed	Number employed ('000)	Percent unemployed
Total Classifiable Labour force..	699.2	18.2	714.8	17.2	702.1	18.8
Professional, Technical, Administrative, managerial, and related occupations...	61.4	11.7	64.7	8.9	59.8	9.7
Clerical and sales workers	85.6	20.9	91.4	19.8	81.1	21.6
Self-employed and independent occupation....	261.1	5.5	278.1	5.8	280.3	6.6
Service workers..	86.5	34.3	84.0	33.6	80.8	38.6
Craftsmen, Production process and operatives....	91.2	24.7	86.3	24.2	93.1	24.9
Unskilled, manuel and general occupations...	110.9	23.4	108.0	23.2	104.0	23.5
Occupation not specified.....	1.9	5.0	2.3	7.7	3.0	17.9

+ Source: Economic and Social Survey Jamaica, 1978.

In con trast, professional, technical, managerial, administrative, and the self-employed had very low rates of unemployment. This data reveal a significant contraction of the economy especially in labour intensive industries, like construction and manufacturing.

This was in part due to the closure of firms precipitated by the balance of payments problem experienced by the government and the resultant inability to procure raw materials, as well as, the decline in new capital investment venture on the part of established entrepreneurs.

The situation is even more aggravated when one looks at the data for women. Table XII describes what the situation was in 1978, but the data on the condition in 1980-81 showed imperceptable differences between the two findings, hence the reproduction of the 1978 Table which was more extensive than the areas covered by the study in Jamaica.

TABLE XII

Persons Employed and Percent Unemployed by Industry and Sex, 1978+

Occupation	Both Sexes		Male		Female	
	Numbers employed ('000)	Percent unemployed	Numbers employed (000)	Percent unemployed	Numbers employed (000)	Percent unemployed
Total classifiable labour force..	702.1	18.8	425.0	11.4	277.1	28.0
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing...	252.3	5.8	186.0	3.6	66.3	11.5
Mining, quarrying and refining	5.7	12.5	5.1	12.3	0.6	14.3
Manufacture..	78.2	21.1	58.8	16.0	19.4	33.5
Construction and instalation	35.0	30.3	34.0	30.7	1.0	23.1
Transport, communication and public utilities...	30.8	13.2	22.9	12.9	7.9	14.3
Commerce....	91.5	14.7	32.4	8.2	59.1	17.9
Public Administration...	103.2	22.5	48.3	15.6	54.9	27.8
Other services....	99.5	36.6	33.8	12.0	65.7	44.6
Industry not specified	5.9	24.7	3.7	20.8	2.2	30.3

+ Source: Economic and Social Survey Jamaica, 1978.

From a study of Table XII it will be observed that over 25% of the employed women were in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing. It is interesting to note, also, that although more women were employed in Public Administration and in Commerce, than men, the percentage of unemployment in the industries listed in the Table was consistently higher among the women. Overall, unemployment among the male labour force was 11.4%; but fully 28% of the female labour force was unemployed. This is particularly critical since female heads of households are generally the way of life for most of the underprivileged Jamaican families.

Agriculture, export agriculture, dominated by bananas and sugar and its by-products, and tourism are the cornerstones of the economy of the Target Areas. Tourism is the largest earner of foreign exchange and the largest contributor to GDP, and major employer. The governments recognising the problems inherent in such an economy, are putting emphasis in their development strategies on export promotion, focusing on the manufacturing sector as new source of employment. On the other hand, mining is peculiar to Jamaica, with the bauxite industry being the chief money earner, the gypsum output being very significant, and both being steady employers of labour. In fact, no single sector now occupies a predominant position in the economy of the island. The growth of the manufacturing, mining and construction sectors, and the development of the tourist trade, have put these along with agricultural sector to form a broad economic base to withstand the falling off of activity in any one direction.

Up to now it is evident that the deprived child is born into a family that is poor because the bread-winner has little education, does not have a chance of being employed full-time all year round, and earns too little to provide the child with "hope for better days". Nevertheless, with the democratisation of education throughout the region, with greater equality

of opportunity for employment in any of the "white collar" jobs, and with social mobility being open to everyone who shows ambition and drive -- it is safe to say that irrespective of the low socio-economic status of the family, the child in the Caribbean with the right beginning at home, with the proper stimulation at school leading to the realisation of his innate potential, can become a "self-functioning" person in his society.

(iii) Range of Total Monthly Income for the Household

The assessment of the income for the household was not very easy, mainly because the majority of the members were reluctant to disclose their income, while others gave figures which seemed unrealistic. But as soon as the occupation of each member of a household was known, it was possible to estimate the total month's wage/salary with some degree of accuracy.

It is important to note that inherited wealth is unheard of in the underprivileged family whose income is mainly from wages earned as a common labourer. In many instances these labourers are engaged in seasonal work which results in an uncertain and low income from which savings are small or well nigh impossible.

In all the islands the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for 1978 fell by about 1.7%, and the real per capita gross domestic product fell by 3.0%, while a decline of 7.6% in real consumption per capita was recorded. Table XIII gives information on the range of total monthly income of the households in the Target Areas.

TABLE XIII

Range of Total Monthly Income for the Household

RF / AF	EC$				Bds. $	J$		
Range of Incomes ($)	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA St. Ann	JAMAICA St. James	TOTALS (AF)
100 - 149	15 / 25.4	27 / 51.1	27 / 33.3	20 / 55.5	12 / 8.5	27 / 41.2	17 / 46	145
150 - 299	24 / 40.7	21 / 37.5	36 / 44	14 / 38.8	40 / 28.3	34 / 53.2	9 / 24.3	178
300 - 599	17 / .29	8 / 14.3	15 / 18.5	2 / 5.5	54 / 38.3	3 / 4.7	6 / 16.1	105
600 - 799	3 / 5.1	-	2 / 2.8	-	14 / 9.9	-	-	19
800 - 1000	-	-	1 / 1.4	-	21 / 14.8	-	5 / 13.4	27
TOTALS (AFs)	59	56	81	36	141	64	37	474
Exchange Rates	U$1.6 EC$2.77				US$1= Bds$ 2	US$1 = J$1.78		

Data concerning the total monthly income in the households are presented in the denomination of the islands -- the EC$ for the Leeward and Windward Islands, Bds$ for Barbados, and J$ for Jamaica. The rates of exchange in relation to the US$ are shown in the Table.

The data in Table XIII indicate that 48.2% of the wage earners in the households were the recipients of monthly incomes varying from EC$100 or Bds$ 100, or J$100 to 1000 similar dollars. On the question of the range of total monthly income it will be observed that 33% of the households aggregated 100 to 149 national dollars, 39.4% 150 to 299 national dollars, and 22.1% had received 300 to 599 national dollars. It will be noted also that the highest percentage of high

wage earners ($600-799, and $800-1000) were in the well-known tourist areas -- Barbados, and St. James[+] (Jamaica).

In a 1977 labour survey conducted in Jamaica it was discovered that:

7.7% of the population earned no income,
34.3% earned under J$20 weekly,
36.9% earned between J$20 and under J$50 weekly, and
21.1% earned over J$50 and over, weekly.

It would therefore be interesting and significant to ascertain (a) how many members' salary/wages were included in the total monthly incomes reported in the Table, and (b) for what size family had the income to provide the basic necessities of life.

Another very significant information which might be gleaned from Table XIII, has to do with the extent of the no-income households. On examination of the Table it will be seen that about 48% of the households in the study had a total monthly income ranging from $0 to under $100 (national). When broken down under Target Areas the picture was as presented in Table XIV.

[+] Flankers: "The Life Style Study" deprived area in St. James, is one of the hinterlands of Montego Bay.

TABLE XIV

Household with No Income

Households	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA	
						St. Ann	St. James
Possible No-Income	17	40	39	88	48	131	79
Percentage	22.7	41.6	32.5	71.0	26.0	67.2	68.1

Lewis+ in identifying guaranteed family "income", as one of the top items on the public agenda in the 1960's observed that:

> "The lack of sufficient money and the irregularity of its flow restrict child-rearing options and force a continuous shuffling and reshuffling of priorities among food, shelter, clothing, health, education, recreation, and other demands."

(iv) Reading Habits of Adults and Children of the Household

Among the intended experiences for deprived children should be contact with places outside the home, exposure to all kinds of books and involvement of parents and other relatives in motivating the desire to read. Children to whom

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+ Lewis, Hylan. "The Family: New Agenda, Different Rhetoric". In Children of Poverty -- Children of Affluence. Child Study Association of America, Western Publishing Company, New York, 1967.

books are not made to mean much at home, are likely to be seriously disadvantaged at school. For children to want to read they must see their parents reading with some enjoyment, they themselves must be encouraged to handle books, and they should have stories read to them very frequently.

The responses on materials and toys recorded in Table VII (a, b, c) lead one to conjecture that in the homes of most low-no-income bracket families there would be a sparse supply of reading materials for either adults or children. Because of the low literacy and income levels of the parents and relatives of these children it is understandable why so few of them purchase books and/or read to their children.

In the absence of the complete data on the reading habits and attitudes of the householder, other adults and the children in this study, the next few Tables summarise the findings of Grant+ on the situation in Jamaica, which it is hoped will give an indication of what obtains in most underprivileged homes in the Target Areas.

TABLE XV

Books in Household for Adults

(Jamaica : 803 interviews)

No Response	Bible only	1 - 5 books	More than 5 books	Newspaper and Magazine
152 18.9	473 58.8	44 5.5	40 4.9	94 11.7

+ Grant, D.R.B. Living Conditions of Some Basic School Children: Pointers to Disadvantage. Bernard Van Leer Project for Early Childhood Education, Mona, Kingston 7.

The data in Table XV tend to emphasise the importance of the Bible to the low-no-income bracket family in the Caribbean. For one thing, it is the chief prize given to children at Sunday School. In addition, because of the influence of the church, parents make certain that as soon as the child can read, the Bible is in the home for him to read passages that are well-known (sometimes "by heart") by the parents. In more than 50% of the households in the study, the Bible was the only book, with about 5% having only 1-5 books, and another 5% having more than 5 books -- some of which were tattered school books that were used "sometime ago by his cousin who is no longer in school." It will be observed that in only 94 of the 803 households did the newspaper and/or magazine form part of the available reading materials for the adults. In addition to the low literacy and income levels of the householders, it is possible that sparse supplies of adult books, and even children's books were due to the fact that parents did not have the time to settle down to sustained reading while at the same time trying to cope with the difficulties of rearing a family under poor conditions -- no money, inadequate shelter, insufficient and inappropriate food.

TABLE XVI

Reading Materials in Household (N: 803) for Children

None	Picture books Magazines	School books and Others
653 81.0	5 .6	143 17.8

What is emphasised in this Table is that there were over 75% of the households without any reading material to motivate the underprivileged child to want to read. In addition, it is evident that only few -- very few -- children were privileged to have their parents read/tell stories, etc. to them.

Other data, not shown here, indicate that some children were fortunate to have grandparents, nieces and nephews and sometimes older siblings read to them occasionally.

When these Tables (XV and XVI) are examined some important information seems to surface. In the first place the reading habits of the adults in the households were very poor, and there was little evidence that many adults were members of the lending library in the community. Secondly, the number of households with books of any kind for children was so small that there is cause for concern. Thirdly, judging from other research findings, since the general reading habits of parents were so poor, their vocabulary was likely to be limited to the extent that they would not contribure much to the positive reading habit and verbal fluency of their children.

SECTION II

SETTINGS

The relationship between the family and environmental variables and children's developmental patterns has long been a subject of theoretical speculation[+] in developed countries over the years. The purpose of this Section is to present data on the SETTINGS -- human, social process, and physical -- in which the children of the poor in the Target Areas are reared, with a view to understanding their developmental pattern in the light of these variables.

In the home of the privileged the child is more likely to have a closer infant-parent relationship than in the deprived household where there is not only a number of people involved with the care of the child, but also a significant amount of child-parent separation. Of course, in the privileged and the underprivileged homes the status and process of the intimacy and involvement of multiple care givers vary from household to household, from family to family, and from district to district.

As set out in the Preface, this Section will include data on those variables which investigations abroad as well as local research have found to be significantly related to the cognitive, stimulation and emotional support for the young child.

[+]Peck, R.F. and H.G. Richek. "Personality and Social Development: Family Influences." Review of Educational Research Vol 34, 1964.

Freeberg, N.E. and D.T. Payne. "Dimensions of Parental Practices Concerned with Cognitive Development in the Pre-School Child" - Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 3, 1967.

Hess, R.D. et al. "Cognitive Environments of Urban Pre-School Children." Daedalus #95, 1966.

SET 1: HUMAN SETTING - SIZE OF FAMILY

i. Number of Adults in Household

In developed countries the term family is usually associated with what is known as "monogamous nuclear family" -- which is made up of a male and a female with their children under the same roof. The assumption here is that the two adults are married. From the Caribbean point of view, a variety of groupins is included in the use of the term. Grant[+] suggests that,

> "in general, a family may refer to (i) a father, a mother and their children, (ii) the mother and her children, with a step-father, (iii) the mother-child household in which the male figure lives elsewhere, (iv) a group of relatives living in the same house, and (v) the extended family in which two or more generations and their families live together in the same house."

In some communities, within and outside of the English-speaking Caribbean, there are two- and three-generation households in the deprived areas. More single-generation households are found among the upper and middle-income bracket families. Henriques[•], writing on West Indian family organisation stated that:

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study..... Volume I: The Literature In Retrospect. The Bernard Van Leer Foundation, Centre for Early Childhood Education, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica, W.I., 1980.

[•] Henriques, Fernando. Family and Colour in Jamaica. 2nd Editions. London, McGibbon, 1968.

"One of the distinctive features of Jamaican lower class family life is the strong sense of kin beyond that of the immediate family."

Table XVII gives a picture of the number of adults in the households in the study.

TABLE XVII

AF / RF — Number of Adults in Households

Number in Household	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA St. Ann	JAMAICA James	TOTALS (AF)
0	-	--	1 / .8	-	-	-	-	1
1	11 / 14.5	21 / 22.1	16 / 13.3	23 / 18.5	11 / 5.9	33 / 21.3	16 / 21.6	131
2	36 / 47.4	40 / 42.1	52 / 45	53 / 42.7	74 / 39.6	110 / 71	53 / 71.6	418
3	11 / 14.5	17 / 17.9	19 / 15.8	28 / 22.6	37 / 19.8	10 / 6.5	5 / 6.8	127
4	12 / 15.8	12 / 12.6	20 / 16.7	13 / 10.5	33 / 17.6	1 / .6	-	91
5	4 / 5.3	3 / 3.2	8 / 6.7	6 / 4.8	14 / 7.5	-	-	35
6	2 / 2.6	2 / 2.1	1 / .8	1 / .8	14 / 7.5	1 / .6	-	21
7 +	-	-	1 / .8	-	4 / 2.1	-	--	5
N.R.	-	1 / 1.0	12 / 9.6	-	2 / 1.0	39 / 23.4	42 / 36.1	96
TOTALS (AF)	76	95	118	124	187	155	74	829

Outside of underprivileged communities it is possible to find relatives and/or friends occupying a part of a house -- that is, they maintain two or more separate households under one roof. In some "family houses" -- a house handed down from generation to generation -- in the rural areas of the Target Areas, this "two separate household arrangement under the same roof" is very common especially if the girls (two sisters) are the beneficiaries of the "family house".

Because this report is based on a study of households with children 0-3 years old, it is axiomatic that everyone of the households represented in Table XVII has at least one child. In St. Lucia, there was one household, with at least a 0-3 year old child, but without an adult. It may be infrequent, but not uncommon to find a similar situation in some ghettos in Jamaica, with older siblings 9-13 years old assuming the role of "head" of the household. From the Table it will be seen that 15.9% of the (131 of the 829) respondents represented a two-generation household -- a mother and a child, although it was possible for the adult to be a grand-parent or an aunt, etc.

When this Table XVII is studied along with Table I, the following features emerge:

(a) In St. Ann and St. James (Jamaica) there were two adults in 71% of the households while in the other Target Areas less than 50% of the households had two adults. As will be seen in (b) below, there was no guarantee that the presence of two adults meant the existence of nuclear family. If this were so, the like of a "monogamous nuclear family" would be found in about 50% of the households in the study.

(b) There were 83% of the households with the number of adults ranging from 2 to 7+. But a study of Table XVIII will show that the aggregate number of households without male adults was 384.

TABLE XVIII

Number of Households (with 2 to 7+ adults) without Male Adults

AF
RF

Number of Household	Anti-gua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Bar-bados	JAMAICA		TOTALS (R F)
						St. Ann	St. James	
with 2 to 7+ adults	65 85.5	74 77.8	101 84.1	101 81.4	176 94.1	122 78.7	58 78.3	697
without male adults	42 55.3	52 54.7	56 46.6	63 50.8	90 48.1	51 32.8	33 44.5	384

It would seem, therefore, that the 384 households without male adults had one or more of the following categories of additional adults in the extended family: Great-grandmother, grandmother, aunt, uncle, adult son/daughter, daughters-in-law, son-in-law, and/or collateral relatives. A noteworthy phenomenon of the household structure in the English-speaking Caribbean is the presence of a golden age father or mother in the home. It is an honour for the aged to be with one of his/her children until death. The belief is that a special blessing will follow the adult-son or daughter who assumes this responsibility. The nursing home is used only upon the

advice of a doctor or when the condition of the aged is beyond the care-competence of the care-giver son/daughter.

The generation depth of the families represented in the households in Table XVII indicates that the mothers got some help with the rearing of their 0-3 year olds from the additional adults who shared the household with them. Generally, in the English-speaking Caribbean the child grows up as a member of a large family of a "yard" with many tenanted households. In this type of situation the child is taken care of by a grandmother, an aunt, an adult sister, a sister-in-law, a collateral relative or a "yard" neighbour. However, it must be noted that in view of the present trend for grandmothers to be in the under 30 year old age group (page 8) it will be necessary to re-evaluate the significance of their role in the extended family. When a new child is born to a family there are changes in the functional organisation of the family in respect of the roles of mother and grandmother. The young daughter-mother must learn her new role as a mother -- a change must take place in her basic role as a daughter. The daughter-mother needs to experience a growing sense of autonomy from her mother in order to accept responsibility for the care of her child. This process of moving from a daughter to a daughter-mother (child-daughter to adult-daughter), is not clearly delineated in the extended family with the many adults in the households, shown in Table XVII.

From what has already been said, it seems evident that only a few children in the study had the care of a single family unit -- most were rared/cared for by multi-care-givers. This could have certain advantages for the child.

Maccoby and Feldman[+], and Lamb[•] believe that each care-giver has the "potential for adding to the child's information, sparking dimensions of the child's fantasies and engaging the child in new areas of problem solving." It is expected also that the child's interaction with many adults is likely to enhance his cognitive competence. Leiderman[¢] evaluated the impact of multi-caregiving on infants in an East African village near Nairobi. On the Bayley Scales of Infant Development[$] he found that infants from low-income families where the mother was the primary care-giver scored lower than infants from similar socio-economic background where there were multiple care-givers. He concluded that "the study suggests that particularly when resources are limited, the custom of involving several care-givers for a child can have noticeable benefits."

[+] Maccoby, E.E. and S.S. Feldman. "Mother Attachment and Stranger Reactions in the Third Year of Life." Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 37, 1972.

[•] Lamb, M.E. "Twelve-Month-olds and their Parents: Interaction in a Laboratory Playroom." Developmental Psychology. Vol. 12 (3), 1976.

[¢] Leiderman, P.H., and G.F. Leiderman. "Affective and Cognitive Consequences of Polymatric Infant care on the East African Highlands." In D.A. Peck (ed.) Minnesota Symposium on Child Psychology, Vol. 8. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974.

[$] Bayley, N. Bayley Scales of Infant Development. New York Psychological Corporation, 1969.

ii. Number of Children in Household
Target Ages (T.A.) under 4 years
Over 4 years (O 4) to 10 years

No one doubts that the type of interactions the child has with his family will be the major influence on his personality as well as his idea of himself. One of the functions of the family is to provide a context in which the child interacts with people, places and things in order to develop a sense of SELF -- self-awareness, self-identification, self-direction, and self-fulfilment. This development of SELF is usually enhanced or frustrated by the child's experiences with his siblings and his ordinal position among them. Freeberg and Payne[+] found that sibling rank and family size correlate with several dimensions of child-rearing practices. They concluded that "these factors influence the extent to which a parent can engage in a variety of activities that inherently require sustained participation in order to help the child acquire awareness of his own attributes through his experiences with the people that surround him as early as his first weeks of life."

From observation it is safe to conclude that parents and children are affected by the number of children in the household. Data concerning the number of children in a household are presented in Table XIX.

[+] Freeberg, N.E. and D.T. Payne. "Dimensions of Parental Practices Concerned with Cognitive Development in the Pre-School Child." Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 3, 1967.

TABLE XIX

Number of Children in each of "X" Households: TA and O4

AF / RF

No. in Household	Antigua		St. Kitts		St. Lucia		St. Vincent		Barbados		JAMAICA				TOTALS (AF)	
											St. Ann		St. James			
	TA	O4	TA	O4	TA	O4	TA	O4	TA	O4	TA	O4	TA	O4	TA	O4
0		39 / 43.4		38 / 36.5		58 / 45.8		69 / 53.2		110 / 63		98 / 50.5		67 / 57.7	-	479
1	44 / 37.9	26 / 34.2	46 / 47.9	23 / 24	82 / 68.3	39 / 32.5	81 / 65.3	28 / 22.6	124 / 65.6	39 / 20.6	86 / 44.3	51 / 26.3	72 / 62.1	25 / 21.7	535	23
2	23 / 30.3	11 / 14.5	38 / 39.6	21 / 21.9	31 / 25.8	19 / 15.8	34 / 27.4	24 / 19.4	50 / 26.5	23 / 12.2	86 / 44.3	33 / 16.2	34 / 29.3	10 / 8.6	296	141
3	4 / 5.3	4 / 5.4	7 / 7.3	13 / 13.5	7 / 5.8	7 / 5.8	8 / 6.5	4 / 3.2	11 / 5.8	6 / 3.2	19 / 9.8	12 / 6.2	10 / 8.6	5 / 4.3	66	51
4	3 / 3.9	2 / 2.6	2 / 2.2	4 / 4.4	-	-	1 / .8	2 / 1.6	2 / 1.1	2 / 1.0	3 / 1.5	2 / 1.1	-	-	11	12
5	2 / 2.6	-	1 / 1.1	-	-	-	-	-	2 / 1.1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
6	-	-	1 / 1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
7+	-	-	1 / 1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
TOTALS (AF)	76	76	96	96	120	120	124	124	189	189	144	194	116	116		915

The data previously presented in the Tables under this SECTION dealt with adult compositions in each household. This Table XIX shows that 479 of the 915 households had no children over 4 years old, whereas varying numbers (from one to seven) of the target age (0-3 years old) were found in the households

Almost 41% of the households had more than one target-age child, and 48% had one child or more in the age range 4 to 10 years. The households with two to four children of the target-age totalled 40.8% of the 915 represented in the Table, and there were 22% of the households with a similar number of children from 4 years to 10 years old. It will be noted that there were five households with five children (0-3 years old) in each, one household with six children in this age cohort, and one with seven or more children in the age ranges 0-3 and 4-10 year-old.

In the Target Areas over 65% of the households had only one child each in the age range 0-3 years. Those households with two and three children in each were evenly spread over the Target Areas, with Antigua, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Barbados, and St. James (Jamaica) having more than 25% of their households with two target age children in each, St. Kitts had the highest percentage of households with three and four children in each, while Barbados had the lowest. It will be observed that St. Lucia and St. James (Jamaica) had no household with four children in each.

The literature on family size suggests that each child's distinct position in the family influences his perception of self and life, and frequently results in certain characteristic attitudes and traits. The only child, for example, who spends his developmental years in the company of his adults in the household, is more likely to win the attention -- almost undivided attention -- of these adults, and therefore grow up having "his own way". In the Caribbean the oldest of a number of children may find himself in a vulnerable position -- attachment to mother is minimal, parents expect him to be a "proper example" for the younger ones, responsible duties fall upon him, he faces the mother's inadequacy as a parent, when the family is under stress, the parents most often

take him into their confidence, and so he shares their anxiety, and he is expected to help educate the younger ones.

Two significant Caribbean phenomena must be mentioned. First, the poor family believes fervently in having a boy in the family -- mother and father, especially the latter, wants to show "strength" by producing a boy. Consequently, it is common for a couple who have been blessed with girls to "keep on trying for the boy" -- the result, a large family. Secondly, nuclear families (married or common-law) after the first child, are motivated to have another child for three reasons, (a) to provide companionship for the first, (b) because "birds can't fly on one wing" and (c) to satisfy the wish of the mother or father for a girl or a boy.

There is need for studies on the effects of family size on English-speaking Caribbean parents and children, but certain research findings give us some pointers. It would appear that the effects of family size on children "cluster around the issue of intelligence, school performance, and motivation." Elder claims that "children from smaller families express more achievement motivation and better school performance than children in large families."[+] On the question of the important subject of readiness, Scott and Seifert[•] found that pre-school children from small low-income

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[+] Elder, G.H. "Family Structure: The Effects of Size of Family, Sex Composition and Ordinal Position on Academic Motivation and Achievement." In Adolescent Achievement and Mobility Aspirations. Chapel Hill, N.C. Institute for Research in Social Science, 1962.

[•] Scott, R. & K. Seifert. "Family Size and Learning Readiness Profiles of Socio-economicall Disadvantaged Preschool Whites". Journal of Psychology Vol. 89, 1975.

families scored higher on all the skills that were measured, than the children from large families. Some educators expect children from large families to adjust readily in most situations. However, Hawke's[+] in his study of children from certain rural midwest towns in the U.S.A. found that children from families with four or more siblings "felt lower self-worth and had more problems in social adjustments than did children from smaller families."

iii. Relationship of Interviewee to Child

Table I presented data on the percentage of households with fathers/mothers who lived in each. When this Life Style Study was designed it was decided that the interviewee should as far as possible be the mother of the child. This decision was based on a knowledge of the findings of Brathwaite[•], Vickers, and Grant, each of which showed the "lower class family as being matricultural". Information concerning the adult population per household is presented in Table XVII which shows the generation depth of each family.

Educators all agreed on certain basic principles for optimal environments -- learning and otherwise -- for young children. Among these principles, is the one which postulates that the optimal environment for the young child is one in which the child is cared for in his own home in the context of a warm, continuous emotional relationship with his own

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[+] Hawkes, G.R., et al. "Size of Family and Adjustment of Children." Marriage and Family Living. Vol. 20, 1958.

[•] Brathwaite, L.E. op cit

Vickers, Jeane. op.cit

Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study, Vol. I: Literature in Retrospect

mother. Table XX shows the extent to which this principle had been violated, by indicating the relationship of the interviewee to the child.

TABLE XX

Relationship of Interviewee to the Child: by Number of Households

Relationship	Antigua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	JAMAICA		Totals (AF)
						St. Ann	St. James	
Not Related	-	1 1.5	5 4.2	1 .8	-	1 .5	-	8
Mother	60 78.9	77 80.2	75 62.5	103 86.6	164 86.8	138 71.9	101 87.1	718
Grand-mother	8 10.5	12 12.5	15 12.5	7 5.9	12 6.3	24 12.5	9 7.8	87
Father	-	-	5 4.2	1 .8	2 1.1	14 7.3	1 .9	23
Aunt	6 7.9	2 2.1	12 10	5 4.2	10 5.3	11 5.7	3 2.6	49
Uncle	-	-	1 8.4	-	-	-	-	1
Cousin	1 1.3	-	3 2.5	1 .8	-	1 .5	-	6
Older Sibling	1 1.3	2 2.1	3 2.5	1 .8	1 .5	2 1.0	1 .9	11
Others	-	2 2.1	1 8.4	-	-	1 .5	1 .9	5
Totals (AF)	76	96	120	119	189	192	116	908

The most frequently mentioned interviewees were the mother in approximately 80% of the households. This suggests that irrespective of whether or not they were the persons best qualified to provide for/care the children, they were the most easily accessible persons -- especially in the case of teenage mothers. It will be noted that only in 3:5% of the households was the father interviewed, and the grandmother and aunt accounted for 9.6% amd 5.4% of the interviewees respectively.

A study of this Table XX in association with Table I, confirms certain concerns raised by Jacobs and Jacobs re the caring of boys in a matri-culture. They[+] were struck by the predominantly matriarchial system in the English-speaking Caribbean, and the "unfortunate exposure of boys to the lighthearted way in which inhouse or visiting fathers treated their responsibilities."

The few cases of grandmothers (9.6% of the households) being the interviewees, suggest that their role as child minders and care-takers was gradually disappearing. With the child-bearing age being as young as it is, and the fertility rate being as high as it is among teenagers, grandmothers are now in the age group 25 to under 30 years. These grandmothers are full-fledged members of the labour force, and are themselves still within the child-bearing age and involved in one of the types of family union.

[+] Jacobs, Len and Beth. The Family and Family Planning in the West Indies. London. Allen and Unwin, 1967.

iv. Absence of Parents from Household

In 1965 the Government Social Survey of women in employment was analysed by Moss[+] who found that there was an "increase in the number of married women going out to work among the unskilled, semi-skilled and manual workers." In the English-speaking Caribbean there are large numbers of households where family resources are limited, and therefore the members of the household -- generally the single parent -- have to go away from home in search of employment. This movement away from home to far or distant places, at home or abroad, forces the parents to work out alternate child-care arrangements. Table XXI and XXII contain data on the absence of mother and father from the household, and their whereabouts.

TABLE XXI

Percentage of Mother and Father who left the Household

Parents away from home	Anti-gua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barba-dos	JAMAICA	
						St. Ann	St. James
Mothers	5.3%	8.3%	12.5%	12.1%	2.7%	13.1%	5.2%
Fathers	64.5%	70.8%	52.9%	70.1%	50.5%	40.5%	48.3%

[+] Moss, P. Residential Care for Children in England. Report, 1975.

TABLE XXII

Whereabouts of Mother/Father Who Left the Household

Whereabouts		Anti-gua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barba-dos	JAMAICA	
							St. Ann	St. James
Dead	M	-	1%	-	-	1%	-	-
	F	-	1%	1.8%	.8%	.9%	1.7%	2.9%
Overseas	M	3.9%	4.2%	5.9%	5.7%	.5%	1.1%	-
	F	14.7%	5.2%	10.5%	17.8%	10.3%	6.9%	7.6%
Kingston	M	-	-	-	-	-	2.2%	.9%
	F	-	-	-	-	-	4.0%	-
In Community	M	-	1%	1.7%	-	-	.5%	-
	F	5.3%	24%	16.7%	7.6%	-	2.9%	1.0%
Another Community	M	1.4%	2.1%	5.0%	4.1%	-	4.4%	2.6%
	F	41.3%	39.6%	21.9%	33.1%	-	16.7%	29.5%
Boat	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	1.3%	-	-	-	-	2.9%	-

An examination of Table XXI will show that as usual a substantially higher percentage of fathers left the household during the child's infancy. It will be noted that the percentage of mothers who left the household ranged from 2.7 in Barbados to 12.5 in St. Lucia, and in the case of the others it was 50.5 in Barbados to 70.8 in St. Kitts. Observable features were the significant differences between the Leeward and

Windward Islands -- fewer mothers left their homes in the Leewards than in the Windwards, and the same could be said of the fathers. On the question of their whereabouts, a high percentage of the mothers and fathers left the Windwards for "overseas" than was the case in the Leewards; more mothers in the Leewards left home for elsewhere within the island and more Windward Island mothers and more Leeward Island fathers left for "another community".

Two bits of important information gleaned from Table XXII are (i) that very few of the mothers left home for somewhere else within the community, while a significant number left for "overseas" and "another community";'(ii) although a higher percentage of fathers than mothers left home for somewhere else within the community, the high percentage pattern of migration to "overseas" and "another community" was similar to that of the mothers. If one were to assume that when the mothers and fathers left home they went in search of employment to support the family, then it is safe to conclude that employment opportunities were very limited within the community, and therefore the track had to be to another community (St. Thomas - Virgin Islands, St. Maarten, Aruba, Cayman Islands, Puerto Rico, Bahamas -- all Tourist areas) and "overseas" (U.S.A., Canada, U.K.).

In the deprived areas of the English-speaking Caribbean there are other forms of separation -- each of which carries some measure of anxiety and disturbance on the part of the child. Burlingham and Frend+ hold that:

+ Burlingham, D. and A. Frend. Young Children in Wartime. London: Allen & Unwin, 1942.

> "psychopathic conditions are linked in a systematic way to states of anxiety, dispair and detachment -- whenever a young child is separated for long from his mother figure, whenever he expects such a separation, and when, as sometimes happens, he loses her altogether."

They go on to observe that:

> "in the presence of a responsive mother (or mother figure) the infant or young child is commonly content and is likely to explore his world -- in her absence, by contrast, an infant is likely, sooner or later, to become distressed -- and -- responds to all sorts of ---- situations with acute alarm."

In the region parents make certain threats to their young children -- threats which give children the impression that they are going to lose their parent(s). These threats are usually prefaced by "if you don't behave yourself" or "if you are not good", and the sting in the tail is, "I will send you away" or "I will go away" or "I will give you away" or "the policeman will take you away". There are instances in which the child fears that one of the parents will go away following upon a "bus-up quarrel" between father and mother. All of these experiences spell separation to the child with the consequent frightening effects to him.

In addition to the daily newspaper reports of abandoned children, Brodber[+] has analysed the phenomenon in Jamaica and Grant[•] opines that children of the poor in the English-speaking Caribbean were victims of one of the mild forms of

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[+] Brodber, Erna. The Abandonment of Children in Jamaica. Institute of Social & Economic Research, 1974.

[•] Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study.... Vol. I: The Literature in Retrospect.

child-abuse --"give-a-way", abandonment, and rejection/ neglect due to a physical handicap. He refers to the concern of the newspaper, the CARIBBEAN CONTACT, over the frequency of child abandonment in the region, and the extent to which children were left behind without any proper provision for their care and protection. He mentions also Beaubrun's observation+ that children in the Caribbean who are sent from one home to another during their early years were likely to have personality problems. He highlited Belafonte's response to the question, "What kind of childhood did you spend in Jamaica?"

> "----- First of all I lived with many different families. ----- I was always 'boarded' out with different people. - - What it was with the absence of parents, the absence of a certain kind of care in my early life, I found it very hard to relate to anything-------. I would say my childhood in Jamaica was fraught with great conflict and disturbance."

These and other studies indicate that among the main problems of mother-separated children are (i) their inability to establish and maintain attachment relationship with the adult to whose care they are left and (ii) the affectionate deprivation suffered by the child when the mother and/or father is absent from home for long periods because of hospitalisation, imprisonment, or employment.

SET 2: SOCIAL PROCESS SETTING

i. Aspiration

Most parents of deprived children have had a short (shortened) educational career, with the primary school level being the highest for about 85% of them. This primary school level does not necessarily mean the highest grade (Grade 6) in the school system, as many of them became drop-outs from about Grade 3 or 4. It is possible that many of the interviewees of the deprived children are illiterates or lapsed literates.

Hess[+], et al, point out that there are children who are comfortable with themselves, who feel worthy, important, capable and successful. There are also children who have difficulty in accepting their limitations, and whose self-esteem needs boosting -- these are, by and large, children from deprived environment. "Self-derogation rather than self-esteem permeated these children's image of themselves," and where the children who feel worthy, important and capable would accept a challenge, the self-derogated ones would quickly give up. But, fortunately, Strodtbeck's study[•] showed that parental aspirations and attitude toward education within social classes could contribute positively to the self-esteem and achievement of their children. Douglas[¢], as if to add weight to Strodtbeck's findings, found that there was a

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[+] Hess, R.D., et al. Early Experiences and the Socialisation of Cognitive Modes in Children. Child Development, # 34; 1965.

[•] Strodtbeck, Fred L. "Family Interaction, Value and Achievement." In Talent and Society, David C. McClelland, (ed) New York: Van Nostrand, 1958.

[¢] Douglas, J.W.B. The Home and the School. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964.

high correlation between parents' interests in education of their children and the latter's performance at school.

It is safe to say that one of the greatest ambitions of the poor parents in the region is to see their children grow and achieve success that will assure better living than their present lot. In most cases the encouragement is not overtly given, but when their children succeed at school, the parents speak enthusiastically about it to friends and relatives. Strange as it may seem, the achievement demands of many of these poor parents are low because they believe they are too poor for certain achievement level to be reachable by their children. Although there are a number of parents who wish that their children could go to the University of the West Indies,[+] some of them doubt the achievability of the wish.

Those parents who work on sugar cane plantations and/or in the banana fields seem to see their sons and daughters ending up working in these areas too, and the daughters becoming household-helpers. For this reason these parents do not make high aspirational demands on their children. However, with the introduction of democratised education, and the openness of the Common Entrance Examinations (despite its faults) many children from poor homes get a chance of becoming the "success story" of the poor, the motivator of their peers, and the example of movement from sty to sky.

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Living Conditions of Some Basic School Children: Pointers to Disadvantage. Bernard Van Leer Foundation, PECE, Mona: Kingston 7, 1974.

ii. Interaction with Peers

The child's idea of play and acquaintance with social play are obtained from experiences provided at home. In fact, in the ideal home the child's first playmates are the members of the household, beginning with the parents. Unfortunately, in most homes of deprived families in the region, parents find it difficult to provide opportunities for play interaction between their children and the schools. More seriously, although the child's Nursery and Basic school years open up opportunities for him to learn to play with other children, his home environment does not give him the chance to be "ready" for this experience. Very often the strict parent - the one who does not wish her child to get "mixed up with rude children" -- makes her child a virtual prisoner by not permitting him to play with other children in the nearby open lot. These children do not participate in and develop the camaraderie which can result from such participation because of the restrictions that are placed on their physical mobility.

Most children are deprived of the experience of visiting a park or common playground, but, fortunately, the open yard, provides an avenue for parent-separated child and others to play together. Because the mothers of children in deprived areas tend to treat their "girl child" differently, it is possible to find more girls being engaged in solitary play for a longer time than boys.

One thing is certain. This type of deprivation can affect the development of children, especially in relation to their social adjustment. Yet, despite the restrictions imposed by some parents, children in deprived environments do find opportunities for interacting with their peers and will develop the ability to cooperate with them to a similar

degree -- though at an older age -- as that of their privileged counterpart.

iii. Parent-Child Verbal Exchanges

The findings of Broderick and Irwin[+], verified by others, indicate that language development of young children is directly proportional to the amount of verbal exchanges between child and parent. Of course, everyone agrees that among the environment-factors which are likely to influence the status and process of these verbal exchanges, the most important is the warmth of the parent-child relationship. It is for this reason that children from privileged homes seem to enjoy greater facility in language use than their deprived counterparts -- they have more to talk about because of wider experience with people, places and things (like toys), and they have more people with whom to converse at home.

When a child exchanges experiences with his parents, he gets an opportunity to communicate his observations, his thoughts, and his feelings in ways that make him convey a message and establish a relationship for the two-way communication. The child growing up in an underprivileged home is, more often than not, handicapped in the development of the skills to communicate freely and easily.

Grant[•] in an effort to ascertain, inter alia, the extent to which parents converse with Basic School children

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[+] Broderick, A.J., and O.C. Irwin. "The Speech Behaviour of Infants Without Families." Child Development # 65, 1961.

[•] Grant, D.R.B. Living Conditions of Some Basic School Children: Pointers to Disadvantage. Bernard Van Leer Foundation PECE, Mona, Kingston 7 - 1974.

at home organised an interview of the heads of 803 households in four parishes in Jamaica. Table XXIII summarises his findings, which could be used as pointers to what obtains generally in the region.

TABLE XXIII

Frequency of Parent-Child Verbal Exchanges

AF
RF

School Types	No response Never	Sometimes+ and/or Now-and-again	Often*	TOTALS (AF)
Urban	34 / 10.0	300 / 89.0	3 / .7	337
Sub-urban	1 / 3.5	27 / 96.4	0 / 4	28
Rural Town	17 / 14.9	93 / 81.6	4 / 3.5	114
Country	39 / 14.0	216 / 77.7	23 / 8.2	278
Sub-urban Depressed	7 / 15.2	38 / 82.5	1 / 2.2	46
TOTALS (AF)	98 / 12.2	674 / 83.9	31 / 3.8	803

From this Table it will be noted that under 4% of the households had parents who conversed with their young children once everyday. The others (83.9%) either did not converse at all or did so at most only two times per week, In

+ Very often : Several times per day
Often : Once everyday
Sometimes : Two times per week
Now-and-again : Once per week

the privileged home the meal time is usually a social occasion when everyone gathers around and indulges in a conversation while eating. In the deprived family the position is different -- there is little conversation between the adults; the children sit away from the adults, sometimes not together, with their plates in their laps.

The communication system among the poor in the region is affected by factors such as:

(a) the overcrowded conditions in the homes make it necessary for parents to restrict open and free conversation -- in fact they insist that "children must be seen and not heard",

(b) parents, whose vocabulary is limited, when engaged in verbal exchanges with adults and/or their children use words unworthy of repetition by the children,

(c) when adults address children in the process of a conversation, the adults do not expect a response -- "the child must not "argue" -- "He must not talk back", he "must listen and do",

(d) a sustained dialogue between a child and an adult is rare. Barbados is the only island where it was common to see a youngster conversing with someone far his senior in age, with ease and in comfort,

(e) there is little or no time to explore behaviour, it is easier and more authoritative to say, "don't.....", without giving reasons.

The effect of the data in Table XXIII, and the above characteristic communication system among the underprivileged confirm the oft-repeated findings of students of linguistics -- there is a significant relationship between a child's verbal ability and opportunities for verbal exchanges in the home.

iv. Rewards and Punishment:

On the question of rewards and punishment Grant[+] concludes that:

> "Misbehaviour is followed by 'flogging' in 78% of the households of the poor -- there are very few privileges to be withheld, there is no time to reason with the child, there is no love to withhold from the child. The larger the family the greater is the tendency 'not to spare the rod and spoil the child'."

The conclusion is drawn from the data presented in Table XXIV and XXV based on information gathered on questions posed to 803 householders in four parishes in Jamaica.

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study - Volume I. The Literature in Retrospect..... 1980.

TABLE XXIV

What Parent Does When Child Pleases Her

AF
RF

School Type	No-thing or N.R.	Praise only	Praise and Affec.	Praise and reward	Praise Affec. and re-ward	Affec-tion only	Affec. and re-ward	Reward only	Totals (AF)
Urban	132 39.4	63 18.7	22 6.5	42 12.4	47 13.9	16 4.7	4 1.2	11 3.2	337
Sub-urban	5 18.8	3 10.7	1 3.6	7 25.1	5 18.8	3 10.7	2 7.2	2 7.2	28
Rural Town	37 32.4	18 15.8	8 7.0	14 12.3	24 21.0	4 3.5	3 2.6	6 5.2	114
Country	96 34.5	70 25.1	11 4.0	46 16.5	37 13.3	5 1.8	2 .7	11 4.0	278
Sub-urban Depressed	24 52.1	14 30.4	1 2.2	4 8.8	0	2 4.4	0	1 2.2	46
TOTALS (AF)	294 36.6	168 23.6	43 5.4	113 14.0	113 14.0	30 3.7	11 1.4	37 4.6	803

The picture painted by Table XXIV was that these Basic School children grew up at home with little or no expectation of praise or reward for successful performance of a task. As would be expected the result was a reduction in motivation and/or self-reinforcement in the pre Basic School children. In consequence the school needs to help them to respect urgency in the performance of a task, and develop good businesslike work habits.

TABLE XXV

Form of Punishment for Doing Something Wrong

AF
RF

School Type	No response	Beat	Take away privileges	Speak harshly	Ignore	TOTALS (AF)
Urban	2 .6	271 80.3	44 13.0	20 5.4	0	337
Sub-urban	0	16 57.6	8 28.8	4 14.4	0	28
Rural Town	4 3.5	105 71.9	2 1.8	3 2.3	0	114
Country	1 .4	254 91.4	10 3.6	11 4.0	2 1.2	278
Sub-urban Depressed	2 4.4	25 55.0	15 33.8	3 6.6	1 2.2	46
TOTALS (AF)	9 1.1	671 83.5	79 9.8	41 5.1	3 .4	803

To most parents in the underprivileged environments of the region (83.5% in Jamaica) discipline is interpreted to mean corporal punishment. As can be deduced from Table XXV other methods of disciplining children were either unknown, or un-used due mainly to lack of knowledge and understanding of the forms of discipline and of the behaviour patterns of young children.

In the English-speaking Caribbean when the mother has to go to work disciplining of the child is left to the grandmother and/or other adult caretaker. But with the upsurge of teenage mothers in the region a problem emerges -- the grandmothers are still members of the workforce. Irrespective of

who is the caretaker, the chances are that the discipline will range from being overprotective to being authoritarian. From very early children have to learn to twist the truth, in order to defend themselves and/or win the affection of the grandmother/caretaker. It must be noted that the child who is a member of a family that shares a yard with other families is usually subject to scolding by any of the accredited grown ups there.

The parents in the Target Areas complained of their children's "misbehaviour" -- "rude behaviour" -- Broadly grouped the acts of misbehaviour fall under: fighting older sibling, dislocating pre-arranged furniture, playing in the house, crying too much, violating social rules, not eating the food provided, nuisance and inconvenience behaviour, and engagement in dangerous acts. For any one of these behaviours parent confessed that boys were punished more frequently than girls -- in fact, they said that more often than not the girls were subjected to "tongue lashing", not flogging. In the overcrowded homes the child was slapped from the age of 18 months -- more slapping at this age was done by teenage mothers. Among the mothers over 25 years old it was observed that the more schooling they had the more they were inclined not to use physical forms of punishment. A possible explanation for this could be that they had a wider vocabulary and greater facility in communication, therefore they could find words with which to express dissatisfaction with a behaviour, and with which to reason with the child. As would be expected it was these same mothers who used rewards frequently and to some advantage.

Despite the information reflected in Table XXV, it is encouraging to note that a gradual lessening of the severity of punishment is becoming more and more apparent, with the reduction of the family size and the infrequency of flogging

in the primary schools. But in the region there are still those parents who advocate stern discipline as a means of preventing delinquency, teenage pregnancy, student demonstration, and indiscipline in the society. There are those who emphasise ease and naturalness in socialisation practice without permissiveness. Educators and the child-developmentalists contend that physical punishment as such does not seem to serve the function of effective discipline, and that parent and parenting education is a great necessity if the parent is to be less authoritarian and exhibit more warmth in parent-child relationship and a more democratic atmosphere in the home.

v. Health Profile of the Target Children

Universally, birth-weight and height are among the indices for differentiating children of developed and third world countries, and those of privileged and deprived families. Doctors advise that new born babies vary in weight, height, and even brain weight, each of which reflects differences in the nutritional and health status of the mothers, as well as the physical maturity of the babies. Wright[+] has advanced evidence to prove that the results of low birth-weight include mental retardation, poor school performance and visual defects. It is evident therefore that the health of the mother during pregnancy will affect the development of the fetus. In the region underprivileged mothers whose medical care and nutrition are poor give birth to underweight babies who are prone to develop disabilities.

[+] Wright, F.H. "A Controlled Follow-up Study of Small Premature Born from 1952 through 1956." In the American Journal of Diseases of Children. # 124. 1972.

It is now accepted that during pregnancy the fetus is susceptible to damage as a result of excessive exposure to drugs. Dr. Charles[+] Thesiger[•] in a recent research found that "31.6% males, 21.1% females in the upper grades of secondary institutions had used marijuana. The figure for continued use among teenagers is 24.2% of the males and 9.8% of the females." Many scholars[+] seem to support fear that heavy smoking on the part of mothers are among the causes of low birth weight. It would be more than interesting to research this effect on children of the Rastafarians, and of teenage mothers, many of whom are heavy smokers and drug users. The sexually transmitted diseases also have a harmful effect on the fetus -- syphilis, a maternal illness can cause miscarriages and still-births.

Because the babies of well-nourished mothers[+] are usually more disease resistant it is safe to assume that malnutrition was rampant among the mothers of 0-3 year olds of the Target Areas, since these children when they first became ill were found to be the subjects of a total of forty-six types of illnesses. Table XXVI gives the distribution of some of the most prevalent illnesses reported.

[+] Winnick, M. (ed) Nutrition and Fetal Development. New York: Wiley, 1974.

[•] Thesiger, Charles Consultant psychiatrist, in an address on "Drugs Commonly Used by Young People", reported in Daily Gleaner, 28/5/83.

TABLE XXVI

What was Wrong at First Illness of the Child[+]

(Number of Households)

Type of Illness	Anti-gua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barba-dos	JAMAICA	
						St. Ann	St. James
Malnutri-tion	16 / 20.8	11 / 12.1	19 / 15.3	13 / 10.4	22 / 11.2	26 / 13.6	13 / 11.3
Dysentry	2 / 2.6	4 / 4.4	3 / 2.4	5 / 4.1	7 / 3.8	12 / 6.3	12 / 10.4
Fever	11 / 20.8	9 / 9.9	10 / 8.1	16 / 12.8	16 / 8.8	12 / 6.3	16 / 13.9
Rashes	4 / 5.2	6 / 6.6	3 / 2.4	3 / 2.4	1 / .5	8 / 4.2	2 / 1.7
Gastroen-troritis	6 / 7.8	8 / 8.8	10 / 8.1	22 / 17.6	1 / .5	7 / 3.6	14 / 12.2
Influenza	21 / 27.3	45 / 49.5	35 / 28.0	41 / 32.8	19 / 9.6	16 / 8.4	14 / 12.2
Scabies	1 / 1.3	1 / 1.1	3 / 2.4	4 / 3.2	-	2 / 1.0	3 / 2.6
Worms	4 / 5.2	1 / 1.1	1 / .8	5 / 4.1	1 / .5	3 / 1.6	5 / 4.3
Eye prob-lem	5 / 6.5	6 / 6.6	6 / 4.5	8 / 6.4	10 / 5.5	15 / 7.8	18 / 15.6
Bronchitis	-	-	5 / 4.0	1 / .8	-	3 / 1.6	7 / 6.1
Pneumonia	1 / 1.3	-	1 / .8	6 / 4.9	2 / 1.1	-	-

[+] See Appendix I for an Interviewer's account of her "Touching Experience"

In surveying the literature on health and nutrition in the region, Grant[+] found reports which throw some light, inter alia, on the data in Table XXV:

(a) less than 20% of the children attained their expected weight or height, mainly because of poverty, rapid reproduction and/or unstable relationship,

(b) because of the widespread moderate and severe malnutrition in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago, between 10% and 25% of the children in the region were underweight for their age,

(c) overcrowding had a debilitating effect on the development of the under 5 year olds,

(d) in Antigua nutritional statistics for young children showed a 6.8% moderate and 1% severe malnutrition. There was 43% of the child polulation with some level of malnutrition and 13% of the babies were immature at birth,

(e) the statistics on St. Kitts showed that a high percentage of expectant mothers who visited the clinic were suffering from malnutrition, and 13.3% of the babies who were born in 1975 weighed 5½ lbs. or less,

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[+] Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study: Volume I
Volume II.

(f) the 1976 survey in St. Lucia showed that 33.3% of the young children suffered from mild to moderate malnutrition, 10% were immature at birth and only 20.8% had a favourable birth-weight,

(g) the high infant death rate in St. Vincent was due to gastroenterittis. In addition, 28.9% of the young children showed symptoms of mild to severe malnutrition. The extent of immature birth was in the region of 10.4% and favourable birth-weight was recorded for only 13.7%,

(h) while in Jamaica over 70% of the inmates of the children's hospital were suffering from some form of malnutrition, in Barbados the 1976 survey showed that 39.7% of the babies had symptoms of mild to severe malnutrition, and 19% were immature at birth.

There are two notes on which to end this section. First, it must not be conceived that the poor has more diseases than the privileged. Becuase of the few doctors available in any of the islands, their exposure to medical attention is much less than is the case with middle and upper income bracket families. Secondly, the diseases most prevalent among the poor have changed over the years, mainly because of the consciousness of the governments to the health needs of the society at large, and the work and cooperation of agencies interested in upgrading the health of children and mothers in third world countries.

SET 3: PHYSICAL SETTING

HOUSING CONDITIONS

i. Status of Houses

The problem of housing is a very serious one in the region, especially in the urban areas where there is a heavy concentration of unemployed men and women. The report, "Deprivation and School Progress"[+] points out that:

> "In addition to poverty, homelessness and bad housing conditions can be regarded as major factors in the break-up of families, and the causation of ill-health, strain and disharmony within the family with consequent adverse effects on children's progress and adjustment."

In all the islands living conditions are influenced by the climate, tradition, and poverty. Because there is neither winter nor snow, and the sun is an ever-present companion, any kind of material from cardboard to straw, from coconut palm to bamboo is used to make a house. The aim is simple to have a shelter against the wind, rain, and dew. It must be emphasised that some of these people do wish to have a better and more substantial house, but they are too poor to purchase the lumber, the concrete blocks, etc. Grant[•] in one of his Tables on housing, in Volume II: Ecological Characteristics of the Target Areas, showed that:

[+] Chazan, Maurice et al. Studies of Infant School Children, I: Deprivation and School Progress. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976.

[•] Grant, D.R.B. Op cit.

(a) "50% of the houses in rural Jamaica were built of wood, and 'wattle and daub', and over 75% of the urban houses were built of material with cement ingredient. The wood in the urban area ranged from light plywood, box container material, and cardboard, to pitch-pine lumber;

(b) In St. Kitts and Barbados nearly 46% of the buildings were in fairly good condition, while 36% were in various stages of disrepair;

(c) 16% of the houses in St. Lucia were not improveable, 54% needed some improvement, and 28% were in good condition;

(d) In St. Vincent 30% of the houses were classified as good and 40% as 'non-improveable'."

The data on the appearance of the houses and premises revealed that 15.6% of the houses observed in the Target Areas were rated as "shobby", 31.2% as a "bit disorganised", 32.5 as "average", 16.5% as "quite neat and attractive", and .3% as "immaculate".

In addition to the above characteristics observed it was noted that 'water supply was considered fairly satisfactory to good, but the toilet facilities and the process of garbage disposal leave much to be desired -- both are breeding grounds for disease carriers.+"

+ Grant, D.R.B. Op cit.

In Jamaica whereas 83.3% of the dwelling and "yards" in the urban areas were served with piped water, nearly 40% of the rural area dwellings had to depend on the standpipe situated up to three miles from the users, and 23% relied on the supply from springs, wells and rivers. Flush toilet facilities were available to more urban area households - though some were for the common use of the tenants in a yard. In the rural areas the pit latrine was the typical sanitary convenience, with the "bush" being commonly used -- with no privacy except that provided by the surrounding vegetation.

Table XXVII taken from Grant'S[+] report shows the distribution of house-ownership in the region.

TABLE XXVII

Percentage Distribution of Ownership of Houses, 1976

Target Areas	Owned	Leased	Rented	Free	Squatted	Other
Antigua	26.8	1.4	54.7	7.4	5.2	4.4
St. Kitts	53.8	.33	33.1	10.8	.04	1.93
St. Lucia	28.2	.3	61.1	4.0	1.0	5.4
St. Vincent	77.5	.33	15.9	6.82	.1	.71
Barbados	61.54	.38	30.77	4.88	.015	2.42
Jamaica U	29.7	3.9	59.9	5.8	0.5	0.3
R	70.8	1.4	17.6	9.6	0.3	0.3

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Op cit.

ii. Accommodation

On the average the disadvantaged child in the English-speaking Caribbean lives in a sub-standard house with one or two apartments which are used for sleeping. The children share bed with more than one sibling, and the youngest child generally sleeps with the adult. Table XXVIII is concerned with the number of rooms per household.

TABLE XXVIII

Number of Rooms Per Household

AF
RF

Target Areas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more	TOTALS (AF)
Barbados	-	1 .5	11 5.8	3 1.6	37 19.6	96 50.8	14 7.4	3 1.6	24 12.7	189
St. Vincent	1 .8	2 1.6	34 27.4	39 31.5	24 19.4	78 6.5	3 2.4	2 1.6	4 8.9	124
St. Lucia	-	5 4.2	32 26.7	10 8.3	39 22.5	19 15.5	9 7.5	11 9.2	1 .8	120
St. Kitts	-	16 16.7	28 29.2	14 14.6	15 15.6	10 10.4	4 4.2	3 3.1	6 6.2	96
Antigua	-	1 1.3	10 13.2	14 18.4	23 30.3	16 21.1	7 9.2	3 3.9	2 2.6	76
JAM St. Ann	-	12 6.2	51 26.3	59 30.4	29 14.9	11 5.7	1 .5	-	31 16.0	194
JAM St.James		21 18.1	65 56.0	24 20.7	1 .5	-	-	-	5 11.3	116
TOTALS (AF)	1 .1	58 6.3	231 25.2	163 17.8	162 17.8	160 17.8	38 4.1	22 2.4	80 8.7	915

It will be observed that nearly 50% of households were 1 to 3 bedroom-houses, and the sugarcane areas had the highest number of 5 to 8+ bedroom-houses, which belonged to the "tenement yard".

When this Table XXVIII and other data were studied with Tables XVII (Number of Adults in a Household) and XIX, (Number of Children per Household) Table XXIX giving information on the average density of population per household emerged:

TABLE XXIX

Population Density per Household

Target Area	3 to 3.5	3.6 to 4.00	4.1 to 4.5	4.5 to 5.00	Over 5
Barbados				4.8	
St. Vincent					5.3
St. Lucia				4.67	
St. Kitts			4.5		
Antigua			4.3		
Jamaica			4.3		

A further study of these Tables (XVII, XIX, XXVIII and XXIX) and other data not included in this analysis provided the following information:

(a) in St. Kitts the average number of persons per room was 1.5, and in Antigua it was in the region of 2.1,

(b) in St. Lucia and Barbados the average number of persons per room ranged from 2.3 to 3.6,

(c) in St. Vincent 26% of the dwelling units had 1.2 persons per room, 22% had 3.4 persons, 35.6% of the households accommodated 55% of the population,

(d) in Jamaica there were six parishes with 4.4 to 4.9 persons per household, but on the average there were 1.9 persons per room in the rural areas, and 3.1 in the urban areas.

It is difficult to disprove the belief that young children brought up under these conditions were limited in their movements and therefore restricted in their development. Additionally, older school children find it difficult to study or do their homework and/or private reading because of lack of space, and poor lighting. In fact Winsborough[+] in an analysis of persons per room, found that "indexes of disease and mental illness were high when a number of people inhabited a room."

iii. Electrical Appliances

In the poor homes of the English-speaking Caribbean islands the child's exposure to "Standard English" in the home is not a strong influence on the development of his communication skills. Therefore data on the distribution of the radio and the television in the Target Areas are

[+] Winsborough, H.H. "The Social Consequences of High Population Density." Law and Contemporary Problems # 30, 1965.

intended to explore the possibility of using these media as sources for extending the experiences and vocabulary of parents and children, and as means for supplementing the language patterns the children hear at home.

Responses show that every household possessed at least one radio -- Some had two, - one being a transister, whereas 100% of the households had a radio which was being played for as long as there was an adult in the home. The television set was found in about 47% of the households. Two main reasons accounted for this small percentage of households with a television set -- (a) the lack of electricity in some areas and (b) the cost of the set. A poor man can purchase a transister radio for under J$100 --, but his income does not permit him to buy a television set for J$1,500 to J$2,500.

From the Grant[+] study on Living Conditions of Some Basic School Children, it is obvious that children listened to the radio very frequently, those with television sets watched selected T.V. programmes. But, as in the case with play, parent did not engage their children in verbal exchanges as they listened to and/or watched the radio and the television. The research of Cazden[•] showed that the language development of the child benefitted greatly from the active conversation of parent and child during a show or while listening to a radio programme.

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Op cit.

[•] Cazden, C.B. "Some Implications of Research on Language Development for Pre-School Education." In Hess, R.D. & Bear, R.M. (eds) Early Education. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co. 1966.

In respect of the other household electrical appliances, the refrigerator was the third in frequency, although less than 30% of the households owned one: A few households in the urban area owned an electric iron, and the majority of the urban and some of the rural ones had an oil stove.

iv. The Neighbourhood

Neighbourhoods in the English-speaking Caribbean, like anywhere else, tend to differ according to the educational level of the householders, the income bracket of the bread-winners and a corollary to these -- the type of homes and amenities found there. In poor neighbourhoods in the region the common denominator is that of a depreciating residential area, slum area, overcrowded housing, limited amenities, facilities, and conveniences, piled-up garbage, unskilled and unschooled people -- some of whom are breakers of the law, malnourished children, high birth-rate, adults and children move about "bare-footed", and everyone seemed resigned to a life of helplessness and hopelessness.

Despite the common denominator described above, Grant[+] observed that these poor people like "nice things" and will deprive themselves to ensure that their children get some of these "nice things" (especially clothes). Further, "as difficult as it is to get water in some area most adults manage to keep themselves and their young children clean -- West Indians take great pride in their body - cleanliness and they often quote "cleanliness is next to Godliness". Some of the shabbiest looking buildings boast of immaculately clean yards, especially on "Saturdays and Sundays."

[+] Grant, D.R.B. Life Style Study: Volume I: Literature in Retrospect.

Information relative to the observable character of the neighbourhoods of households in the Target Areas is presented in Tables XXX and XYXI.

TABLE XXX

Observable Character of the Neighbourhoods

AF/RF (A)

Character	Anti-gua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barba-dos	JAMAICA		TOTALS (AF)
						St. Ann	St. James	
Appreciating Residental Area	59 / 77.6	40 / 41.7	82 / 68.3	23 / 18.5	51 / 27.0	36 / 18.6	82 / 70.7	373
Depreciating Residential Area	8 / 10.5	4 / 4.2	7 / 5.8	23 / 18.5	3 / 1.0	6 / 3.1	16 / 13.8	67
Slum Area	1 / 1.3	5 / 5.2	8 / 6.7	2 / 1.6	7 / 3.7	6 / 5.1	2 / 1.7	31
Rural Village	8 / 10.5	45 / 46.9	6 / 5.0	72 / 58.1	115 / 60.8	138 / 71.1	1 / .1	385
N.A.	-	2 / 2.0	17 / 14.1	4 / 3.2	13 / 6.8	8 / 4.1	15 / 12.8	59
TOTALS (AF)	76 / 8.3	96 / 10.4	120 / 13.1	124 / 13.5	189 / 20.6	194 / 21.2	116 / 12.6	915

TABLE XXXI

AF/RF (B)

Character	Anti-gua	St. Kitts	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barba-dos	JAMAICA St. Ann	JAMAICA St. James	TOTALS (AF)
No Playing-field	14 / 18.4	54 / 56.3	9 / 7.5	21 / 16.9	78 / 41.3	4 / 2.1	86 / 74.1	266
Limited Play-ingfield	61 / 80.3	22 / 22.9	21 / 17.5	20 / 16.1	7 / 3.7	116 / 59.8	12 / 10.3	259
Adequate Play-ing facilities	1 / 1.3	3 / 3.1	62 / 5.7	11 / 8.9	-	14 / 7.2	1 / .9	92
Open space roamed by children	-	11 / 11.5	10 / 8.3	69 / 55.6	94 / 40.7	49 / 25.3	2 / 1.7	225
N.A.	-	6 / 6.2	18 / 1.5	3 / 2.4	10 / 5.3	11 / 5.6	15 / 12.3	63
TOTALS (AF)	76 / 8.3	96 / 10.4	120 / 13.1	124 / 13.5	189 / 20.6	194 / 21.2	116 / 12.6	915

Slightly over 40% of the neighbourhoods were classified as appreciating residential area. This is accounted for by the extensive housing scheme programmes which the governments in the region have undertaken with a view to lifting the housing standard of the low-income bracket families. However, it will be noted from Table XXXI that outdoor playing facilities did not keep pace with the improvement in housing -- only 10% of the neighbourhoods had adequate playing facilities, and over 57% had no playing field and/or limited playingfield. Unprepared open area where the children could roam accounted for about 24% of the neighbourhoods. Many of these open space (TABLE XXXI) were found in the rural villages (TABLE XXX).

Charles Malone[+] in concluding his contribution to Learning Handicaps due to Developmental Deviations and Environmental Factors observed:

> "In the neighbourhood which the children know, learning and education, as we usually understand them, are not much in evidence nor are they valued. Alcoholics drifters, older single roaming-house dwellers, teenage school dropouts, and unemployed youths hang around in doorways or on street corners, displaying neither industry nor achievement but rather school and work failure."

[+] Malone, Charles, et al. The Drifters: Children of Disorganised Lower-Class Families (ed) Eleanor Parenstedt Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967.

CONCLUSION

It seems inevitable that societies are built and developed on the premise of diversity and difference rather than on equality and uniformity. A major problem of this premise is how to create a balance between efforts to maximise the potential development of each individual while recognising the inevitability of diversity and difference among communities and people. In studying the growth of young children, one of the critical variables of environmental influence on child development is the maternal care -- its status and process. In Volume IV of these Monographs the studies of Ainsworth, Maccoby & Masters, etc., are quoted as pointing out that differences in patterns of development have been contributed by differences in amount of maternal contact and varying child-rearing practices.

The overall purpose of this Life Style Study was "to provide information on the context in which the child develops." This has been the major goal of this Monograph: Volume V: Household Structures and Settings, and it is hoped that for professionals who have to help the young child achieve his innate potential, it will provide an uncommon source of reference.

Some readers may find omissions in the findings reported in this Monograph. This is unavoidable since (a) no one investigation could examine everything there is to be researched about the "inseparable factors which limit the living standards of individual households" in the six English-speaking Caribbean Islands, (b) the scope

of the 'data generated by the Study+' was such that choices had to be made for inclusion in this report, and the rest 'banked' for use by others who may wish to pursue further investigation on lines indicated by Elsa Leo-Rhynie+, and (c) the findings reported in this Monograph are not in isolation form but in relation to the rest of the people, places and things in the Target Areas, individually and collectively.

The data in this Monograph set out to provide inforation inter alia on the distribution of income, education, and the residence of the householders in the study. There is abundant evidence to support the belief that these three pointers to socio-economic status, separately or in combination significantly affect the child-rearing behaviour of parents. We concede that this Monograph has painted the real facts on the quality of life in the underprivileged target households in the Target Areas of the English-speaking Caribbean Islands. We have attempted to give the hard data as they emerged from the study. Naturally, we recognise that as the "war on poverty" continues, the unsuspected strengths of the underprivileged will surface, and paradoxically, weaknesses among the children of the middle and upper income brackets will become more recognised. These discoveries open up for everyone concerned with the education and care of children an important realisation -- all children, rich and poor, must share the future of their country, and whatever affects those at either end of the socio-economic continuum will have consequences for all.

+ Leo-Rhynie, Elsa: Volume IV: The Data: Pointers to Relationships. 1982

The findings reported in this Monograph have by-passed the familiar characteristics of the deprived --- dispair, apathy, hopelessness, and lack of a positive self-image/ identification -- and have highlighted the person-environment context within which the underprivileged human resources of these societies are "left to grow up" -- not nurtured. In a time like this -- the 70's and the 80's -- when every government in the region seems committed to the amelioration of the lot of the deprived in the society, the new knowledge, and new understanding provided by this Monograph -- Volume V: Household Structures and Settings: should give cause for full-scale effort to help these children of the poor develop their innate potentials, their self-awareness, and their self-direction, and achieve self-fulfilment.

We deliberately end this Monograph on an interrogatory note -- What happens next?[+] The answers are found in the other Monographs of the Study:

> Volume I: "One expects the findings of the study to point the way for a deeper examination into the connection between the life-style of these 0-3 year olds and the achievement of their potentials, and between their understanding and the development of an appropriate and relevant programme of education and care for their development."

[+] See Appendix II: "Rescue in St. Elizabeth."

Volume II:

In each island the human resources necessary to make the programmes for young children viable are in excess of the available supply of trained personnel. One result of this disparity is that most of the approved services are operating below what is expected of them. However, the use of para-professional staff to supplement/support the trained staff is yielding some positive results, but there is desperate need for an organised and comprehensive training programme for these aides and for personnel at all other levels of involvement in the health, care and education of the young child. The training needs of the islands are summarised by Barbados:

> "However, for the improvement of the present services and the development of new ones in order to cater for a larger number of young children more trained staff are required. In the area of early childhood education there is a need for a comprehensive training programme taking into account the qualitative aspect of such training as well as the increasing number of teachers needed for the teaching of children at the early childhood stage. Normally, training assistance should be related to Government's commitment to provide special level personnel for the country's programme."

Volume III:

> "It is hoped that the findings will encourage further searches for more data that will make everyone who is interested in and concerned with the education and care of the young child sensitive to and appreciative of his/her potential -- and create a desire to know more about the unknown -- and help to improve practices."

Volume IV:

> If these findings are accepted as pointers to the quality and quantity, and to the status and process of the maternal stimulation of the 0-3 year olds, it would be safe to imply that mothering is a job for which women can be prepared by learning about child development and rearing, and that those thus prepared are more likely to do a better job"(for the children of the nation).

We know more, and we understand more about the deprived children in the Caribbean region. The clarion call is for everyone to commit more, and to do more for more of these Children of the Lesser World in the English-speaking Caribbean.

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APPENDIX I

TOUCHING EXPERIENCES DURING THE INTERVIEWS: AUGUST/SEPTEMBER, 1980

My visit to the areas selected and the interviews with parents and guardians were very interesting; and I must say how grateful I am for the privilege to have gone into the homes of so many people in different areas. I was able to see the life-styles of a good cross-section of people ranging from those who live in comfortable, well established homes in fishing villages, sugar estates and bauxite areas to the slum dwellings of beachfolk and sugar estate squatters.

The interviews were very pleasant and people in most cases were very cooperative. It was as if they needed to talk about their problems with someone from "outside". The exposure I had, has made me more aware of the hardships and privations being experienced by our people. I had talked with mothers who had neither sugar nor milk to put in the feed for their babies; either because they were unavailable or there was no money to purchase any. I listened to women who had no soap to wash their children's clothes; and I felt a sense of guilt and helplessness as I was unable to help them materially. I could only encourage them to make the best use of what they had; but could promise nothing.

At Holland Sugar Estate I was shocked to see that a slum had developed in a section which once housed sugar workers. The houses once maintained by the Estate, were now occupied by squatters, and for this reason were allowed to fall into disrepair. The squatters themselves, used bits of zinc, pieces of cardboard and various types of materials to keep the houses from falling apart. It was explained to me that

occupants once worked for the Estate - at least the older ones used to. But when the government took over Holland Estate, many of the labourers became redundant. They refused to move out as they had nowhere to go. What was once a two-roomed house is in most cases occupied by twelve persons; the verandah having been boarded up to serve as another room. The area is crowded with children. Unemployment is high and the area serves as a meeting place for gamblers and "weed" users.

Here in this slum, I had the touching experience of interviewing a grandmother who takes care of a grandson, for whom she was being interviewed; and a grand-daughter, about five years old. This child quite intelligently supplied the answers to most of the questions asked. On questioning the grandmother about her, I found that the child had lived in Kingston with her mother who had migrated to the United States of America; and had left her with the grandmother. I was touched by this experience. She was not attending Basic School as the grandmother could not afford to send her. What she got from the child's mother had to serve for herself and the two children; as the mother of the other child lives in Kingston and is not able to support them.

I began to wonder about the future of that child; and on my way home, I thought of returning to get the mother's address to see if she could take her out of that slum and in the meantime see if arrangements could be made for her to go to Basic School. The Social Development Community Officer who accompanied me, promised to help with the arrangements. To me this little girl in that slum was like a rose blooming in a desert; and I asked myself - How long will she remain a rose in those sordid surroundings?

In the same area, not far from the sugar factory, I came upon a large family. The mother was pregnant; a daughter pregnant and another daughter, (the one being interviewed), had a young baby. Another daughter should have gone to secondary school in September, but the mother declared that she could not afford to send her. On enquiry I found that bus fares would cost $1.20 per day; and that alone was prohibitive to say nothing of the money to purchase uniforms, shoes and lunch, and pay the book-rental. This parent did not make a single effort to prepare for these expenses. Again I thought about this girl's future and the future of so many others who had become drop-outs in a similar manner.

My beach-slum exposure was another touching experience. This beach was crowded with makeshift dwellings, occupied by fishermen and their families. The houses were clustered together as if to give comfort and cheer to the occupants; all sharing a common fate - that of poverty and squalor. Here, there are no latrines; garbage and pigs were everywhere; and nude children played in the sand. Adults, teenaged girls and older children are carelessly and scantily clad, and the language leaves much to be desired.

As I stood interviewing a young mother, I felt depressed; but not for long; for something happened which lifted my spirit and gave me a ray of hope. It was after 4.00 p.m. and the children were returning from school. I was pleasantly surprised when three young children came running along calling out pleasant greetings to their mother and the Basic School teacher, who accompanied me. I complimented them for this, and thanked God for their innocence. To them, this slum was home. But how long will they remain innocent in surroundings where the standard of living is so low and where they see so much of life in the "RAW"?

In another fishing area, I again came face to face with the innocence of youth. On arrival at the household, we saw a number of children playing in the yard. Suddenly, as if expecting us, a little girl ran from the crowd toward me. She was about two years old, but was undersized for her age. She was poorly dressed and was very dirty. Her hair which had not been combed, was covered with dirt; and her face had the appearance of not being washed for several days. But that little face carried a beaming smile of welcome. In spite of the dirt, she was radiantly happy; and she was sharing it with us. On enquiry, I discovered that that was the child whose parent I would be interviewing. The little girl had no shyness about her. She clapped her hands and played with us and throughout the interview that brilliant smile never left her face. She taught us a lesson - smiling through privation and hunger; for that is what the interview revealed. Fathers were unemployed and were not giving much financial support for their children. Mothers used to make baskets and sell them in Montego Bay. But for several months they had stopped making baskets as there was no transportation to Montego Bay any more; and there is no market for the baskets at the local level. I left that household wondering if that little girl will grow up with her charming smile, in spite of her environment.

What exists in districts neighbouring the Alpart Bauxite Plant was incredible . Nain, Myersville, All Valley, Warminster and Northampton Mountain). The poverty of life in these areas reveal that the presence of the bauxite plant had very little effect on them. Housing is poor and unemployment is high; and the standard of life is very low in some districts. In one remote district, not many miles from the Plant, boys up to the age of ten years roamed the district, nude, and were not ashamed to come toward the car

when we arrived. In these districts, mothers who were not in common-law union with the baby's father received no regular support for the child, as in most cases he was unemployed. It was very noticeable that people did not bother to plant anything. Land was available in the districts but very little was done about planting food crops. From what was seen it is obvious that money earned at the plant was not in circulation in the areas visited.

In a remote district, while my husband waited for me, a group of six children who were playing nearby, gathered at the car and asked for money to buy something to eat. A little shop was close by, but on investigation, he found that there was nothing to purchase for them. It was about 3.30 p.m. We had a couple of sandwiches and a few biscuits left from our lunch. On returning to the car, I noticed that he was busy sharing the sandwishes and biscuits among the children. They had told him that they had not eaten since they had their "tea", that morning. How pathetic. It would be interesting to know how many more little children pass their days like these six.

One last experience I must share with you, is the encounter I had with a man who once taught at Wolmer's Boys School and Belfield Secondary; where he "fell out" with the Principal and left. He had become eccentric and lived with his common-law wife and five children in a world of his own. The family occupied one room at the back of his little grocery shop. There are really two rooms, but one serves as a classroom. He took me to task about the short-comings of our education system; and the uselessness of the eleven plus examination. He related how he had written to the Ministry of Education advising that the eleven plus examination be cancelled. His own children were not attending school as he was dissatisfied with the system, which had nothing to offer them. He taught them at home along with

three others who were being prepared for the J.S.C. and the G.C.E. examinations.

The grocery shop was poorly stocked. But what was amazing were the writings he had on the walls. Every available wall-space was covered with writings in a strange language; which on close examination seemed to be a mixture of Latin, French and Jamaican creole. This language covered chalkboard was set up in the shop, also bits of chalkboard. Apparently he spends a great deal of time doing this, as the writing is in block capitals and very neatly done. He explained one small section to me; and that was advising the public how to behave on entering the shop. I could not make out what the rest was about, having forgotten most of the Latin and French I once learnt. The interview was very interesting; and I enjoyed talking with him. Before I left, I received an invitation to call again. I left that little shop wondering what had brought this man to this level; and I thought about the future of those five children.

From what was observed, I think there is need for the women to be organised to do something to earn a living. There is need for self-help projects. In areas where women are skilled at straw-work, someone is needed to organise them into groups, guide them in producing good quality straw goods, and help them find markets for the products. They also need to be guided in the setting up kitchen gardens to provide vegetable for their families as well as for the local market. If we were able to do these things we would be helping to restore the confidence and morale of many. What I saw in the poorer areas is a kind of resignation and acceptance of hardships and privations without any determined effort to cope with the conditions. For this

reason, many people are slowly abdicating the responsibility for their children who are left to fend for themselves at an early age.

Roseline Blackwood
Appleton Estate
10/11/80.

APPENDIX II

RESCUE

OUTCOMES OF THE LIFE-STYLE SURVEY IN ST. ELIZABETH

From the survey it was revealed that malnutrition was common among children in the poorer sections of the areas visited. Unemployment was high and housing conditions were very poor. A brief report of the findings was made at a meeting of the St. Elizabeth Early Childhood Education Board. This led to a discussion on the conditions existing in the areas surveyed; as it was observed that a large number of pre-school children were being affected by malnutrition. The members of the Board showed deep concern and resolved to find ways and means to help improve the standard of nutrition of the pre-school child not only in the areas surveyed but in other areas of the parish.

The Board decided to assist with the Nutrition Programme in Basic Schools; and the help of Alumina Partners of Jamaica (Alpart) was solicited to assist with nutrition of children who attend clinics in the bauxite area of St. Elizabeth. As a result, large quantities of skimmed milk was obtained from the Catholic Relief Service for distribution to children who attend the clinics at Myersville and Junction. These clinics serve a large area and cater for approximately six hundred (600) children between the ages of three months to three years and six months. The provision of milk for the clinics is now an on-going project.

Similarly, supplies were received from the same source for Basic Schools in the parish - a total of one hundred and five (105) schools with an enrolment of about five thousand (5,000) pupils, between the ages of four and six years.

Expenses to cover the cost of collecting, transporting and distributing the milk to schools, were met by the Parish Board. This also is an on-going project.

During the period following the survey, meal planning and the preparation of nutritious, but inexpensive dishes were introduced to mothers and teachers of pre-school children. Through the instrumentality of Mr. Keith Brown, Manager of Public Relations, at Alpart, contact was made with the Cultural Office and the Scientific Research Council and each place was asked for someone to visit St. Elizabeth to give lectures and demonstrations at the clinics at Junction and Myersville. Food values and the importance of a proper diet were discussed with the mothers; and demonstrations were given in the preparation of dishes using Corn-Soya Blend, Bulgar, Cornmeal and Milk Powder. The exercise was repeated at workshops for Basic School teachers at Black River, Santa Cruz and Appleton. Parents and teachers were shown how to make the dishes attractive so as to stimulate a child's apetite; and handouts with a variety of menus and recipes were distributed. Approximately five hundred (500) mothers and Basic School teachers attended the lecture-demonstrations.

An informal survey was carried out by teacher-trainers who work with the teachers; and it was reported that some of the recipes tried out, (e.g. Cornmeal Delight and Bulgar Delight) were found to be enjoyable and satisfying.

The St. Elizabeth Parish Board made another very valuable contribution to the Nutrition Programme in Basic Schools. This resulted from reports that Basic Schools in the parish had not received any foodstuff for a period; and had no funds from which to purchase food. This meant that in most of the schools, children were not receiving a mid-day meal. It is

common knowledge that where this happens, pupil attendance at school drops to a low level; and school programmes are affected. To prevent this and to ensure that a mid-day meal was provided at school, the Board undertook to purchase foodstuff for Basic Schools -- 100 cases of tinned mackerel, 80 cases of sardines, 100 cases of carrot juice and a large quantity of milk powder were purchased from Grace Kennedy and Company Ltd., transported to St. Elizabeth, and distributed to all Basic Schools in the parish. This helped the schools over a difficult period, and pupil attendance in most schools remained at a reasonable level.

The St. Elizabeth Parish Board, under the leadership of its dynamic Chairman, Mr. Keith Brown, Public Relations Manager of Alpart, has pledged to continue to assist with the Nutrition Programme in Basic Schools. With Alpart assisting with the provision of skimmed milk for the clinics in the Bauxite Area, it is hoped that malnutrition among these pre-school children will continue to decline.

I must make mention of that "bright" child who was found living in a sugar estate slum with her grandmother and infant cousin. As was reported this child was already five years old. She had lived in Kingston with her mother who had migrated to the United States of America and had left her with her grandmother who could not afford what to feed the children let alone send her to Basic School. The Community Development Officer who accompanied me was as distressed as I was about the fate that child. After discussing the matter the officer promised to see if she could get in touch with the mother. When she did, she advised her to send regular financial assistance for the child so that she could start attending Basic School. She pursued the matter, and as Providence would have it, the mother came home on vacation, and the officer visiting in the area, had an opportunity to discuss the child's

situation with her. Some time later, she was happy to report that the grandmother had moved from the slum and the child had started to attend Basic School. It was noted that she was making good progress.

Roseline Blackwood
31/8/83.